



*The Perseus Marston, child of triumph victor
Presents his armes, his art of warre & fortie virtues*

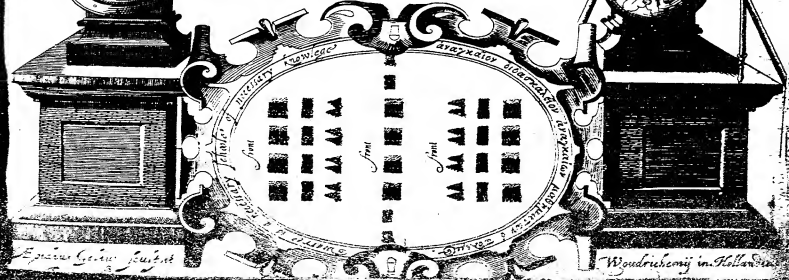
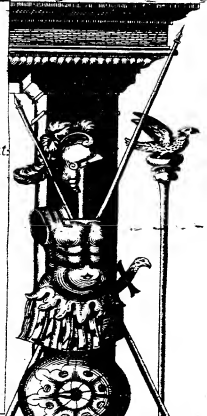
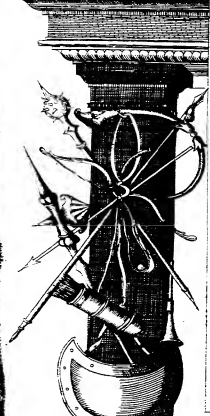
THE TACTIKS OF ÆLIAN

Or art of embattailing an army
after y^e Grecian manner

Englisched & illustrated wth figures throughout
& notes upon y^e Chapters & ordinarie
motions of y^e Booke in A.B.

The exercise military of y^e English by y^e order
of that great Generall Maurice of
Nassau Prince of Orange &c
Gouverneur & Generall of y^e
united Provinces in action

By Leonardus de Surenus Esq^r &c and is to be sold at
his house at y^e signe of y^e Tiger in
Dunkirk Church-yard





TO THE HIGH AND
MIGHTY *CHARLES*, ONLY

SONNE OF HIS MAIESTY, PRINCE OF
Wales, DUKE of Cornwall, Yorke, and Albany, MAR-
QUISSE of Ormont, EARLE of Chester, and Ross,
LORD of Admanoch, and KNIGHT of the
most noble order of the Garter.



Ow much the *Gracians* excelled all o-
ther Nations in the Sciences called
Liberall, is better knowne in gene-
rall, then needfull at this time parti-
cularly to be rehearsed to your *Highe-
nesse*. The *Romans* themselues albeit
otherwise ambitious, and out of mea-
sure thirsty of honour, and challen-
ging to themselues the highest degree of grauity, constan-
cie, greatnesse of minde, wisdom, faith, and skill of war,
contended not herein, but freely left them the possession
of that praise vnquestioned. For warre it is not my pur-
pose at this time to make comparifon, or commit the two
Nations together. The controuersie is already moued by
other, and hangeth vndecided in the Court of learning.
Thus much, me thinks, I may truly affirme, that the *Gra-
cians* were the first, that out of variety of actions, and long
experience reduced the knowledge of Armes into an Arte,
and gaue precepts for the orderly mouing a Battaile, and
taught, that the moments of victory rested not in the

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hands

hands of multitudes, but in a few men rightly instructed to manage armes, and trained vp in the obseruation of the discipline of the field. In which regard they had almost in all Cities amongst them Masters of Armes, whom they called *Tacticks*, which deliuered the Arte Military to such, as were desirous to learne. Out of whose Schooles issued those chiefs of warre in number so many, in skill so exquisite, in valor so peerelesse, in all vertues befitting great Generals so admirable, that no Nation of *Europe* euē to this day hath been able to match, much lesse to ouer-match their fame, and glory. And the time was when the *Lacedemonians* exceeded the rest in Martiall skill, and were thought to be the best Souldiers of *Greece*; by means whereof they aduanced themselues to the Principality of *Greece*, which they held with such reputation, that an enemy by the space of 500 yeares was not seene within their Territory. Till at last growing insolent, and surfeiting of, and being not able to brooke their owne fortune, they sought to oppresse, and with wrong and force to possesse the City of *Thebes*, and stirred vp *Epaminondas* a *Theban* by birth, and from his tender yeares nourished by his fathers care in the study of Philosophy, and the science of Armes, to oppose against them, who in two battailes, the one at *Leuctra*, the other at *Mantineia* so broke their forces, that from that day forth they were neuer able to recouer their wonted authority, and power in the field. *Philip* the sonne of *Amyntas* King of *Macedonia*, being but a priuate man, was deliuered as a hostage to the *Thebans*, & brought vp in the same house and learning with *Epaminondas*. He afterward became King of *Macedonia*; which being of it selfe but a poore kingdom, and before his time sometimes kept vnder by the *Athenians*, sometimes by the *Lacedemonians*; sometimes by the *Thebans*, & finding it at his entrance

to the Crowne harried, and spoiled by the *Paonians*, and forced to pay tribute by the *Thlyrians*, by erecting a new arte, and discipline of warre, to which he exercised, and enured his *Macedonians*, he not only freed his Countrey from the Barbarous nations, but also ouercame the *Gracians*, accounted the only Masters of armes till that day, and caused himselfe to be declared Generall of *Greece* against the *Persians*: against whom after he had made his full preparation, he resolved to go in person. But being preuented by death, he left the succession of his kingdom, and execution of his designs to *Alexander* his sonne, whom he had before curiously instructed in the discipline of Armes inuented by himselfe. The same *Alexander* (being about 20 yeares of age) after he had vanquished *Darius* in 2 great battailes in 12 yeeres ran through, and subiected the spacious, rich, and flourishing kingdomes of *Asia*, euē as far, as the *East Indies*, and with terror of armes made the whole world to tremble at his name. His kingdomes were after his death diuided amongst many Successors, who by the same Arte military easily maintained the possession of their conquests. This Arte is it, that I at this time present vnto your Highnesse. It was comprised in writing by many, and yet none of their works attained our age, but only that of *Aelian*; who hath in a small volume so expressed the arte, that nothing is more short, nothing more linked together in coherence of precepts, and yet distinguished with such variety, that all motions requisite, or to be vsed in a Battaile are fully expressed therein. *Aelian* liued in the time of *Adrian* the Emperor. How much the booke was of ancient time esteemed may appeare by this alone, that *Leo* a succeeding Emperor setting downe Martiall instructions for the gouernment of his Empire, transcribeth whole passages out of *Aelian*, & whensoever he citeth, or nameth the *Tacticks*, he giueth still the first place vnto *Aelian*.

Howbeit the practise of *Aelians* precepts hath long lien wrapped vp in darknes, & buried (as it were) in the ruines of time, vntill it was reuiued, & restored to light not long since in the vnited Prouinces of the low-Countries, which *Countries* at this day are the Schoole of war, whither the most Martiall spirits of *Europe* resort to lay downe the Apprentiship of their seruice in *Armes*, and it was reuiued by the direction of that Heroicall Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, Gouvernour, and Generall of the said *Countries*, a Prince borne and bred vp in *Armes*, and (beside the completenes of his other eminent vertues) for skill, experience, iudgement, and military literature comparable to the greatest Generals, that euer were. I haue of late aduentured to take from *Aelian* his *Greekish* cloake, and to put him in *English* apparel, that in that habit he might attend your Highnesse, and be ready with his seruice, in case he were thought worthy of employment. He had before for his Patron *Adrian*, an Emperour, and Ruler of the *Roman* world. Now he humbly craueth your HIGHNESSE fauour for his protection, who as in Princely descent, and succession of Royall blood you are farre superior, so in vertues worthy of your birth, and yeares, and in all hopefull expectations are you nothing inferior to *Adrian*. It may please your Highnesse to regard him with a gracious eye, and to esteeme the Presentor of him your faithfull bedefman, that will not cease to pray to the mighty God of hostis, to giue you conquest ouer all your enemies. From my Garrison at *Woudrichem* in *Holland* the 20 of September 1616.

Your Highnesse most humbly
devoted,

IO: BINGHAM.



THE TACTICKS OF *ÆLIAN*
or art of embattailing an army after the
Grecian manner.



HE *Grecian* arte of embattailing an army (most mightie *Augustus Cesar Adrian*) the antiquitie whereof reacheth back to the age wherein *Homer* lyved, hath bene committed to writing by many, whose skill in the *Mathematicks* was not reputed equal with myne: whereby I was induced to thinke it possible for me soe to deliver the groundes therof, that posteritie should rather regard and esteeme my labors, then theirs, that before me haue handled the same argument. But weighing againe myn own ignorance (for I must confesse a truth) in that skill & practise of armes, which is now in esteeme among the *Romaines*, I was by feare withheld from reviving a science half dead, as it were, and since the invention of that other by your auncestors, altogether out of request and vnregarded. Notwithstanding comming afterward to *Formie* to doe my dutie to the Emperour *Nerva*, your maiesties father, It was my fortune to spend sometime with *Frontine* a man of Consular dignitie, and of great reputacion by reason of his experience

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in militarie affaires: and after conference with him perceiving he imparted no less studie to the *Grecian*, then to the *Romaine* discipline of armes I began not to despise that of the *Grecians*, conceiving that *Frontine* would not so much affect it, if hee thought it inferiour to the *Romaine*. Having therefore in times past framed a project of this worke, but yet not daring then to publish it in regard of your majesties incomparable valour, and experience, which make you famous about all Generalls without exception, that ever were: I have of late taken it againe in hand, & finished it, being (if I deceaue not my self) a worke both worthy to be accompted of, & of sufficiency, especially with such as are studious of the arte, to obscure the credit of the auncient *Tacticks*. For in respect of the perspicuitie I dare bouldlie affirme, the reader shall more advantage himselfe by this little volume, then by all their writings: such is the order and methode, I have followed. Howbeit I durst scarcely offer it to your majestie who have bene Generall of so greates warres, least happily it proue too too slender a present, & altogether vnworthy of your sacred viewe. And yet if your majestie shall bee pleased to thinke of it, as of a *Greekish Theorie*, or a various discourse it may bee, it will giue you some little delight, the rather because you may therein behold ⁴ *Alexander the Macedons* manner of marshalling his fields. And for that I am not ignorant of your majesties more weightie affaires, I have reperted it into chapters, to the end you may without reading the booke in few wordes take the somme of that, which is to bee delivered, and without losse of time find the places you are desirous to peruse.

Notes.

Notes.

THE TACTICKS As *Taxis* in a general sense signifieth order, so *Tacticos* is as much, as pertaining to order: but specially taken, it signifieth partying to order of a battaile, or to the embattailing of an army. Hereof the arte of embattailing an army is called *Tactice*, and hee, that is skillful, and experienced in that arte. *Tacticos* (^a *Vegetius* nameth him *magistrum armorum*) and the books written of the arte, *Tactica*. And that this is the true signification of the word may appeare by *Xenophons Cyropadia*, where the arte *Tactick* is distinguished from the arte *Imperatory*, or arte of a Generall. Hee induceth *Cyrus*, in a discourse with his father speaking thus: ^b In the end you asked mee what my master taught mee, when hee professed to teach the arte *Imperatory*. And when I answered, the *Tacticks*, you smiled, and asked particularly, what the *Tacticks* availed without provision of things necessary to lue by? what without preservation of health? what without knowledge of arts invented for the vie of warre? what without obedience? so that you plainly shewed, that the *Tacticks* are but a small portion of the arte *Imperatory*, or of commanding an army. Thus *Xenophon*: making a difference between the arte *Imperatory*, & the arte *Tactick*. And in other place hee speaketh yet more particularly: ^c *Cyrus*, sayd hee, esteeme it not the duty of a *Tactick* to enlarge onely, or to stretch out in length the front of his *Phalange*, or to draw it out in depth, or to reduce it from a winge to a *Phalange*, or to countermarche readily, the enemy shewing himselfe on the right, or left hand, or in the rear, but to diuide it, when need is, & to place euery part for most advantage, & to leade it on speedily, when occasion is of prevention. Yet sometimes in a general signification books entituled of the whole arte of warre are called *Tacticks*: as the *Constitutions military* of the Emperour *Leo* are entituled *Tactica Leonis*, perhaps of the best parte, because the arte of embattailing an army hath alwayes bene esteemed the chiefest point of skill in a Generall. Howbeit *Ælian* in his title of this booke taketh *Tactice* in the straighter signification: as appeareth by the definitions, he allegeth out of *Æneas* and *Polibius*, of whom the first defineth the arte *Tactick* to bee a science of warlike motion; with whome also *Leo* agreeth: the other, to bee a skill, where by, a man taking a multitude seruicable, ordereth it into files, and bodies, and instructeth it sufficiently in all things appertaining to warre. Which two definitions comprehend in few words the argument of the whole booke. For first *Ælian* in treatise of levieng, & of arming men, then of filing, next of joyning files, and making bodies, after of ordering the whole *Phalange*, or battaile, further of motions requisite to affront the enemy whersoever hee giveth on, whether in front, flank, or reare; lastly of marching, and of the sondry formes of battailes carieng with them advantage of charging or repulsing the enemy in your marche. He; that will surer her vnderstand the boundes of this arte, let him read in the 21. chapter of *Leo* the 58. section.

1 The Emperour *Nerva* your maiesties Father The Emperour *Nerva* here mentioned was not *Nerva Cocceius*, whoe succeeded *Domitian*, but *Vlpius Traianus*, who was also called *Nerva*, because he was adopted by *Nerva Cocceius*. & succeeded in the Empire. And where *Ælian* termeth him *Adrians* father, indeede *Adrian* pretended, he was *Traians* sonne by adoption. But *Dio* plainly denieth it. & *Sparran* saith, some reported hee was adopted by the faction of *Plotina* (*Traians* wife) by substituting another to speake with a faint voice, as if it had bene *Traian* vpon his death-bed, whereas *Traian* was before departed this world. This is agreed, that he was *Cosin*

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^a *Plin* in *Philos.*
^b *Pement.*
^c *infra cap. 3.*

^d *Leo. cap. 1.*

^e *Dio & Suet.*
^f *Lozen in vita.*
^g *Adrianus.*

German once removed to Traian, & that his father dieng, he (being but ten yeares olde) was ward to Traian (then a private man) and to one Calius Tatiannus.

To spend some time with Frontine [Frontine heer mentioned was the same that wrote the booke of Stratagemes, now extant, & commonly ioyned in one volume with Vegetius. Hee was a man curious in the searche of the Gracian discipline, as may be scene by his owne preface to his booke of Stratagemes: & by the testimony of Elian, & in the first chapter of this treatise, is reckoned amongst the Tatlick writers. * Vegetius reporteth he was much esteemed by the Emperour Traian. Hee lived also in great reputation in the time of Vespasian: at least if it bee hee, that Tactius speaketh of in the life of Iulius Agricola. And yet it might bee hee very well, there being noe more then twenty yeares, & certaine monthes betwixt the reignes of Traian, & the reignes of Vespasian in whose time Frontine is reported by Tactius to have overthrowne the Silures in Britaine. Elian in the next chapter calleth him Fronto. Of one Fronto, that was Consul in the third year of the reignes of Traian, I read in Dio, whose saying is reported to have beene: That it was ill to haue an Emperour, vnder whom noe man might haue liberty to doe any thing, but much worse to haue an Emperour, vnder whom every man might doe what hee list. But this Fronto was not Elians Fronto. Hee was called Marcus Cornelius Fronto; this (that Elian speaketh of) Iulius Frontine. And yet it is noe wonder that Frontine in Latine should be called Fronto in Greek, it being vsual for the Gracians to varie, and deflect a litle from the property of the Latine names.

3 Your maiesties incomparable valor & experience.] That this praise given Adrian is not altogether without cause, may appeare by that, which ^a Elius Spartianus writeth in the life of Adria. His wordes haue this meaning: After this, taking his journey into France, he was bountifull to all, as he sawe cause. From thence hee passed into Germany, & being rather desirous of peace, then warre, yet hee so exercised his souldiers, as though warre were at hand, teaching them to endure paines & hardnesse, himselfe giving an example of military life: gladly also vsing Camp fare, as namely lard, & cheefe, for meate, & water mingled with vineger for drink, in imitation of Scipio Emilianus, & of Metellus, & of Traian the author of his preferment & rising, bestowing rewards vpon many, honors vpon some, to encourage them to beare such things, as seemed harsh in his commaundes. And surely it was hee next Octavius, that vpheld military discipline (declining now through the remissenesse of former Emperours) by ordering both the places of Commaunde, & the payes, never suffering any man to absent himselfe from the Campe, but vpon iust cause: measuring the worthe of Tribunes not by fauour of the souldiers, but by their owne desert, exhorting, & exciting all the rest by example of his owne vertue, whilst hee often marched twenty miles on foote, being fully armed, broke downe banqueting howses, and galleries, & vaults for coolenesse, & arbors, wherefoever hee fownd them in the Campe, & was scene in a plaine garment vsually wore a baudricke not garnished with gold, butrons without gemmes, scarcely allowing an ivory handle to his sword, visited his sick souldiers in their lodgings, himselfe chose out the grownd to encampe in: made noe Capitaine, but a man of a strong body, noe Tribune, but with a growne beard, or of age, that by prudence, and yeares was able to sway the weight of the place: nor suffered him to take ought from the souldier, removed all delicacies, and lastly reformed their armes, and baggage. Hee had besides consideration of the age of souldiers, allowing none younger, then was befitting vertue; nor elder, then stood with the lawes of humanity, to bee conuersant in the Campe. contrary

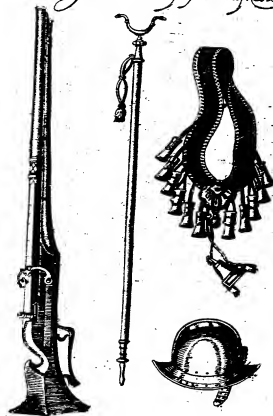
^a Veget lib. 1. cap. 1.

^b Tact. in vita Agricola.

^c Dio in vita Nerva.

^d Spartian, in vita Adriano.

The armes of y^e Musketer



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trary to old custome, and vñage: and gaue himselfe to haue particular knowledge of them all, and what their number was. Furthermore he was carefull to vnderstand the controuerlies betwixt souldier and souldier, and searched with great attentiueneffe into the revenues of the Provinces, to the end to supply what was wanting; endeavouring notwithstanding aboue all neither to buy, nor feede ought, that was not for vs. Wherefore when he had fashioned his souldiers to his owne example, he passed over into Britaine, where he corrected many things, and was the first that drew a wall a-long by the space of eighty mile; wherewith he diuided the Romans from the barbarous people. *Hitherto Spartian. I haue recited the historie at large, because I might represent the picture of an excellent General.*

4. Alexander the Macedons manner.] That this booke comprehendeth the Macedonian discipline of armes, I will shew hereafter, as particulars offer themselves. In the meane time let this suffice for an argument, that Ælian doubteth not to asseme it to Adrian, a Prince excellently learned in the Greeke language; and as by reason of skill he was able to discerne, so by his authoritie he would haue censured so grosse an escape, if it had bene otherwise, than Ælian reporteth.



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The



The Authors that haue written Tacticks; of this booke, and of the profit of the Arte.

CHAP. I.

HOMER the Poet seemeth to be the first, (at least we read of) that had the skill of imbattailing an Army, and that admired men indued with that knowledge; as appeareth by *Mnestheus* of whom he writeth,

*His like no living wight was found, nor any age did yeild,
To Marshall Troopes of horse, or bands of foote in bloudy field.*

Concerning *Homer's* discipline militarie, the workes of *Stratocles*, and of *Frontine* a man of Consular dignitie in our time are to be read. ² *Ancas* perfected the Theorie thereof at large publishing many volumes of warfare, which were abridged by ³ *Cyneas* the *Thessalian*. Likewise ⁴ *Pyrrhus* the *Epirote* wrote *Tacticks*, and his sonne ⁵ *Alexander*, and *Clearchus*, and *Pausanias*, and ⁶ *Euangelus*, and ⁷ *Polybius* the *Megapolitan* (a man of great learning, *Scipio's* companion) and many other, ⁸ *Iphicrates*; ⁹ *Postidonius* also the *Stoick* set forth the art of warre, and many other, some in Introductions, as *Erion*, some in large *Tactick* volumes. All which, I haue being not ignorant, that it hath bene the manner of those writers for the most part, to apply their stile not to the ignorant, but to such as are already acquainted with the matters they intreat of. As for the impediments, which presented themselves to me, when I first gaue my minde to the studie of this Art, as namely neither to happen vpon sufficient Instructors, nor yet to find light, or perspicuitie enough in the precepts delivered; I will endeavour, as much as I can, to remove out of other mens way. And as often as words shall faile to expresse my meaning, I will for plainnesse sake, vse the direction of figures, and pourtraicts, adioyning thereby the view of the eye, as an aide, and assistance, to the vnderstanding, and will all retaine the termes of auncient Authors, to the end, that whosoever shall follow this booke for an introduction, being therein exercised both to the same words; and also to the vlage of things expressed in them, may grow as it were acquainted, and imagine himselfe no stranger, when he cometh to read their workes. By which waies by me prescribed, I make no doubt, they will easily be vnderstood. Now that this Art of all other is of most use, may appeare by *Plato* in his booke of Lawes, where he saith: *T hat the Creitan Lawgiver so contriued his Lawes, as if men were alway prepared to fight. For all Cities haue by nature vnproclaimed warre one against another. Which being so: what discipline is more to be esteemed, or more auailable to mans life, then this of warre?*

Notes.

IT seemeth by this Chapter, that the Authors, that have of ancient time written Tacticks, have bene many: and those not of such kinde of men, as have given themselves to study, and contemplation alone, but of such, as besides their knowledge in good letters, have bene actors in warre themselves; (which is more) principall actors, some of them Generalls, other the next degree to Generalls. Howbeit there is none here mentioned by Aelian, whose workes are extant. Whereby may be esteemed the inestimable losse, those later ages have suffered, in being deprived of such excellent monuments. I hope, I may so terme them without offence, though I have not seene them. For what but excellent, can proceed from men of such excellence in their profession? such as the most part of those were. Yet for some of them I can say nothing, as finding little remembrance of them in ancient writers. Of this kind are Eupolemus, Stratocles, Hermias, Clearchus, Pausanias: albeit such names may often be found: The rest are specially mentioned, and much commended. Of whom I will yet say more, when I finde.

1 Frontine a man of Consular dignity I have before noted somewhat of Frontine. We have of him, as it is thought, other workes, besides his Strategemes: but this booke of Tacticks, whereof Aelian speaketh, we have not. I will only adde the relation of a Vegetius touching Frontine, who writeth thus: Cato the elder, albeit he had bene both invincible in armes, and often Generall of great Armies, beleaved yet he should more profit his Countrey, if he laid downe in writing the discipline of warre. For valiant acts are but of one mans age, but things written for the profit of the State endure for ever. Many other have done the like, but especially Frontine, whose industry herein was greatly approved by the Emperour Trajan.

2 Aeneas perfected the Theory. Aeneas is mentioned by Polybius in his tenth booke, where he discourseth of signes to be made by beacons of fire, in case an enemy approacheth to any part of our Countrey. His booke was intituled, Commentaries of the office of a Generall, as Polybius saith; and Aelian here calleth them, Bookes of the office of a Generall, the title being all one in effect. Of these booke none have reached to our age, but one alone, which compriseth precepts of defending a Towne besieged, and some 5 or 6 yeares agoe came first to light, and print: that worthy man Isaac Casaubon, the learned ornament of his Countrey, (and of England so long, as he lived there) being the fether forth. And it is adioyned to his edition of Polybius. These booke Tactick of Aeneas were abridged (as Aelian saith) by

3 Cyneas the Thessalian Plutarch in the life of Pyrrhus telleth us what Cyneas was. There was, saith he, in the Court of Pyrrhus a Thessalian, a man of great understanding: and who having heard the Orator Demosthenes, seemed alone of all, that then were esteemed eloquent, to renew in the memory of the hearers an image and shadow of the vehemencie and vigor of his vtterance. Pyrrhus held him in his Court, and made use of him, in sending him in embassages to people and Cities. In which embassages hee confirmed the saying of Euripides,

What ever force can doe, with trenchant swords;
The same, or more, is wrought by pleasing words.

Therefore was Pyrrhus wont to say, that Cyneas had gained more Cities with his eloquence, than himselfe with armes. By occasion whereof hee did him

him great honor, & employed him in his principall affaires. Tully speaker of his workes: your letters, (saith he to Papyrius Pærus) have made me a great General: I was altogether ignorant of your so great skill in military matters. I see you have read the booke of Pyrrhus & Cyneas, I therefore purpose to follow your counsell: this yet more, to have some fewe shippes in a readinesse vpon the sea-coast. They lay, there is no better armour against Parthian horsemen. But wny sport wee? you knowe not, with what a Generall you have to doe. I have in this my government fully in practise expressed Xenophons imitation of Cyrus: which before I had worne a peece with reading, Pyrrhus & Cyneas, hee nameth, as two principall Authors of warlike discipline: And where he addeth Xenophon, whose though he be not named by Aelian amongst the Tactick writers, deserves yet not to be pretermitted, having been both a great Comaundeur, & besides writt Largely of military matters, whose workes also are now extant; let vs see, what he saith of him in another place. Cyrus, saith he, is written by Xenophon, not according to the truth of an history, but for a patterne of iust government. Whose wondrous gravity is by that Philosopher matched with singular Curtise, which bookes our Africanus, (and that not without cause) was never wont to let goe out of his hands. And of Africanus he reporteth the like in his Tusculan questiones.

4 Pyrrhus the Epriote wrote Tacticks. Pyrrhus the K. of Epirus was of ancient time esteemed one of the best Generalls, that ever was. What Anniballs indgement was of him Livy reporteth, & Plutarch in the life of Pyrrhus. And Antigenes being de-maunded, whom hee thought the greatest generall, then living, answered Pyrrhus. And where other Kings imitated Alexander the great in purple apparail in number of gardes about their persons, in caring the necke a litle awry, & in speaking lowde, hee alone represented him in exploides of armes, & in deedes of prowes, saith Plutarch. Plutarch saith likewise: Touching his skill in the arte military howe to order a battaile, and howe to bring his men to fighte with most advantage, a man may draw proofe sufficient out of the booke, he wrote, of which booke Tully spake in the last paragraph.

5 And his Sonne Alexander. Pyrrhus had by his first wife Antigone a sonne called Ptolemeus, by Laisa, another called Alexander, & by Bircanna, the third named Helenus. All which albeit by race & inclination of nature they were Martial, yet brought he them vp, & from their birth framed & enured to armes. And the report is, when upon a time one of them, yet a chylde, asked him, to which of them he would leave his kingdom, to him, answered Pyrrhus, who shall have the sharpest sword: Justin also makes mention of these three sonnes. Ptolemeus was borne at Sparta, as Justin would have it. Plutarch saith he was slain in the way be-tweene Sparta & Argos. Alexander reigned after his fathers deede, in the Realme of Epirus. That he wrote Tacticks, I have not read, but in Aelian only.

6 And Evangelus Plutarch in discoursing of the studies of Philosophers hath this in effect. He tooke no delight to heare all kinde of discourses, nor to reade all booke of Philosophy, but such onely, as might profit to the daylie increase of vertue; And hee read not willingly other passages of Homer, then such, as hee thought had some efficacy to moue a mans hart to prowes. But amongst, and above all other readings, he specially affected the Tacticks of Evangelus: & like wise the histories of the exploits of Alexander the great. This is all I finde of the Tacticks of Evangelus I gesse notwithstanding, he was a choice author, because Plutarch had him in such esteem, & of whom he saith the same Plutarch writeth: That Greece bore him singular affection, as the last vertuous man, which shee brought forth

a Cicero. epist. fam. lib. 12. p. 9. b. d. 11.

b. Epist. ad Qu. 11. lib. 1. p. 11.

c. Tusc. quest. lib. 1. 146.

d. Liv. dec. 4. lib. 8. p. 11. e. Plutarch. Pyrrho.

f. Phearch. in Pyrrho.

g. Mithrid. in Pyrrho.

h. Just. lib. 4. p. 11.

i. Lib. 12. p. 11.

j. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

k. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

l. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

m. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

n. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

o. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

p. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

q. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

r. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

s. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

t. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

u. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

v. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

w. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

x. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

y. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

z. Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

fourth in her old age, after so many great, and renowned Capitaines of ancient time; and always augmented his power, and authority, as his glory increased. In which respect a Roman, praising him, called him the last Gracian; meaning that after him Greece bred noe great, nor any personage in deed worthy of her.

7 And Polybius] It is the same Polybius, whose History, so much as is extant, that excellent learned man Isaac Casaubon translated into Latin, and set forth 1609. For his life and worth resort to the preface of the same Casaubon to Polybius his history. Hee had bene in Asia, his owne country, Generall of the horse. Afterward being in displeasure with the Romans, hee lived long in prison at Rome: and was for his warth finally released by intercession of the greatest men of Rome: and became companion to Scipio Africanus the younger, with whom also he was at the siege and destruction of Carthage. His Tactics, whereof Ælian speaks, he is perished with other of his works. Yet are there many passages dispersed heer, and therein his history, which argue his extraordinary skill in matters of warre, and in my seeme, that Ælian hath taken much from him both for matter, and words.

8 Iphicrates] Whose will read of Iphicrates, let him goe to * Æmilius Probins, that writeth his life. His actes are also declared by Xenophon, and Diodorus Siculus, and Polyæn, and Iustin and divers others, as they were incident to their generall histories. Hee was esteemed one of the best Generalls of his time: and was called out by name by Darius King of Persia to be generall of the Gracians, his mercenaries, in the warre, hee had against the Egyptians: His fame and estimation was soe great with Alexander the great, that when his sonne (whose name was also Iphicrates) with other Gracians were taken prisoners by him, for that they came embassadours into Persia to Darius, he not onely spared him for the loue of the City of Athens, and for the remembrance of his fathers glory (the wordes of Arrian) but held him about him in honour so long, as hee lived, and after his decesse sent his reliques to Athens, there to be interred by his friends, and kinsfolke.

9 Posidonius the Stoick] Posidonius in his time was a Philosopher of high renowne, and of the sect, that were called Stoicks. Tully citeth him often in his works. In the second booke of Tusculan questions hee recounteth, * that Pompey the great, on a time comming to Rhodes, was desirous to heare him. But vnderstanding hee was extreame sick of the goute, hee forbore not notwithstanding to visit him being a most noble philosopher: whome after hee had seene, and saluted, and vsed with honorable wordes, and told him, hee was forye, hee could not heare him discourse, you may, if you please, quoth Posidonius: and I will not suffer paine to bee cause, that so great a man seeke mee in vaine. Then, as hee lay in his bed, began hee gravely, and copiously, to dispute, that nothing was good, but that, which was honest. And when firebrands, as it were, of torment towched him to the quick amidst his disputation, he broke forth often so much, I will not yett confesse, that thou art of thy self euill. So Tully, * Pliny like, writeth, that Pompey, after the warre of Mithridates, going into the howle of Posidonius, a man famous in Philosophy, forbid his seriant to knock at the doore (as the manner was,) and the seruientes bundles of roddees (saith he) were submitted to a doore by him, to whom East & West had submitted themselves. The same * Tully attributeth to this Posidonius the invention of a Sphere, whose particular conuexions did worke the same in sonne & moone, and the other fixe planets, that is wrought by the motion of heauen euery day and night.

a. Emilius Probins in vita Iphicratis. Xenoph. histor. grec. lib. 9. p. 87. B. Diod. sicul. lib. 15. p. 79. Polyæn. lib. 2. in Iphicrate. Iustin lib. 6. c. 11. B. C.

b. Adrian. lib. 2. c. 4. C.

c. Tullius. orat. in lib. 2. c. 146.

d. Plin. natural. hist. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 55. A. 15.

e. Cicero de natura. deor. lib. 2. p. 57.

The preparation of warlike forces and division of them, and how they are armed.

CHAP. II.

I will then beginne with such * preparations as are absolutely necessary for service in warre, the forces whereof are of two sortes, the one Land forces, the other ship forces. Land forces are such, as fight on land: Ship forces such, as are ordered for fight in shippes vpon Sea, or Rivers. But the order of Sea service I will reserve for another place, and intract now of things pertaining to Land service. The lieues then for Land service are either of those, that fight, and mannage Armes, or else of those that fight not, but remaine in the campe for necessary vses. They fight that stand ordered in battaile, and with armes [allaille or] repulse the enemy. The rest fight not, as Phisicians, merchants, servants, and other, which follow the campe to minister vnto it. Such as fight, are either footemen, or Riders: footemen properly, that serue on foote. Of Riders, some vie Horses some Elephants. They, that vie Horses, are carryed either one Horse-back, or else in Chariots. And these are the differences in generall. But in speciall the foote, and Horse receaue many other diuisions; onely the Elephants, and Chariots, neuer varie. Footemen then are reparted into three kindes, one being Armed, another Targetiers, the third light, or naked. * The Armed beare the heaviest furniture of all footemen, viting according to the Macedonian manner large, round, Targets, and * longe Pikes: * The Light contrarywise beare the lightest, having neither Curace, nor Greue, nor longe, or round Targett of any weight, but * sieng weapons onelies * Arrowes, * Darts, * Stones either for hand, or sling. To this kind is referred the * armour of the Argilos, who hath his furniture like to the Macedonian, but some thing lighter. For hee carrieth * a little flight Targett, * and his Pike is much shorter, then the Macedonian Pike: which manner of arming seemeth a meane betwixt the light, or naked, and that which is properlie called heauie: as being lighter, then the heauie, and heavier, then the light: and that is the cause, that many place it amongst the light.

The forces of Horse (which were distinguished before from Chariots) as being ordered in Tropes, are either * Cataphraits, or not Cataphraits. They are Cataphraits, that cover their owne, and their horses bodies all over with armour. Of not Cataphraits, some are Lauancers, some Acrobolits, * Lauancers are such as ioynne with the enemy, and fight hand to hand with the Lancer on horseback. Of these, some beare longe Targets, and are therevpon called Targetiers: Other some Lauances alone without Targets, who are properlie called * Lauancers, and of some Xestophori. * Acrobolits on horseback are such as fight a far off with sieng weapons. * Of these, some vie darts, some bowes. They vie darts, whome wee call * Tarentines. Of Tarentines, there are two sortes; for some throw little * darts a farre off, and are termed Darters on horseback, but properlie Tarentines. others vie light darts, & * after they haue spent one, or two, close presently with the enemy like the Lanciers, which

wee spake of, and fight hand to hand. These in common speech are named light horsemen. So that of *Tarentines* some are properly called *Tarentines*, whose manner is to dart a far. Some light horsemen, who joyne, and fight hand to hand. ^a The horsemen that vie bowes are termed *Archers on Horse-back*, and of some *Seythians*.

These then are the differences of such as are in the Campe, the kinds of Souldiers being in number nyne: Of *foemen*, armed, *Targetiers*, *Light armed*, or *naked*: Of horsemen *Lancers*, *Darters*, *Archers*, *Cataphracts*: And lastlie *Chariots*, and *Elephants*.

Notes.

IN this Chapter the kinds of Souldiers are distinguished according to their severall armes borne in fight. And therefore of some some are called armed, because they beare heavy armes; other light armed or naked, because they wear no defensive armes, other some Targetiers, because their chief defence rested in a slight target, wherewith they covered their bodies. The horse also have their appellation, as their armes are. And some are Cataphracts, because themselves & horses were armed completely, other Lancers, for that they used a lance: other some Archolists, by reason they fought with stinging weapons a furre. The first thoughts of a Prince, or State, that is resolved to put an army into the field, ought to be to provide armes. Armes are the security of their own souldiers, the terror of the enemy, the assured ordinary meane of victory. The antiquity of armes is all one with the beginning of warre. For when of ancient time mighty men puffed up with pride, and led by ambition, sought by violence to enlarge their empire, and to bring under subjection their bordering neighbours, they were enforced to fyce to the invention of armes, without which no victory could be obtained. Since, armes have been taken up for defence also, necessity, the mother of artes, inventing a meane to withstand ambition. As Antalcidas was belaboured by Agesilaus being wounded by the Thebans; you are well rewarded for your labour, quoth hee, since you would needes teache the Thebans to fight, that had neither will, nor skill so to doe. For the Thebans being put to necessity of defence grewe warlike through many invasions of the Lacedemonians, saith

^a Plutarch. Whoe were the inventors of the severall pieces of armour, and of the divers kinds of weapons used in old tyme, may appeare by the relation of ^b Pliny in his natural history. This is a crye, that the most warlike nations, and most victorious have alwayes sought to have advantage of their enemies by advantage of armes. The end of armes is either to defend, or assault. Hence are armes divided into two kinds: Defensive, and Offensive. Defensive are those, which are worne to resist the force, and charge of the enemy. Of this sort are the head-piece, gorget, curace, vambrace, gauntlets, tases, greaves, and target. For whereas there are eleven partes in man, the wounded of any of which bring with the undoubted death (as some authors write) the braines, the two temples, the throat, the breast, the belly, the two muscles above the shoulders, the other two above the knees, & the privy members pierced with a thrust: the head-piece for veth for the defence of the braines, and temples, the gorget for the throat, the curace for the breast, the vambrace for the muscles of the armes, the tases for the privities & belly, the greaves for the muscles above the knees, and the target for further assurance of the whole body, being moueable against all strokes, and protecter of the assailants. Offensive armes are such, as men endeavour to wound, or kill withall: as stinging weapons of all kinds, arrows, stones out of slings, or the hand sword,

sword, spikes, partizans, javelines, and the like. ^a But as defence, and security of a mans self is more agreeable to nature, then to hurt an enemy, so are the defensive armes preferred before the offensive, in that they bring safety to him, that beareth them, where as the other are employed in annoying the enemy onely. The Poets sett fourth their bravest and valiantest men alwayes best armed for defence. So Achilles in Homer, and Aeneas in Virgil, are armed to point with armes wrought by Vulcan, to the end to remaine untouched amidst the stormes of their enemies weapons. The Grecian Lawgivers unjustified that souldier, that in fight cast away his target: nor him, that lost his sword or pike. ^b Plutarch writeth, that at such time as Epaminondas assaulted Sparta (the most warlike City of Greece) there was in the City a Spartan named Ispadas, who was the sonne of Pheidias, hee that surpris'd the Castle of Thebes called Cadmea, and thereby stirred up the warre betwixt the Thebans, and Lacedemonians, & ruinated the principality of the Lacedemonians in Greece. This man being in the flower of his age, and personable, and large of lymmes, ranne forth with his bowe all naked, his body annointed with oyl, without apparail or armes, except a sword in one hand, & a javelin in the other; and breaking through the throng of those, that fought on his side, came to handes with the enemy, and overthrowing some, and killing other some, continued the fight, till the enemy was repulsed, and at last returned into the City without wound. The chief magistrate understanding hereof rewarded him with a Crowne for his valor, but yet fined him at a hundred drachmes, for that he durst venter to fight without armes defensive, judging it a matter almost impossible, that a naked man should escape with life fighting against the armed handes of so many valiant enemies, as the Thebans were.

In armes was required, that they should bee strong, that they should bee fitt, that they should bee comely; strong to protect, or annoy, fitt to stie close to the body and bee manageable, comely to grace him, that beareth them. That defensive armes ought to be strong, may bee shewed by the end of armes; which is to save harmlesse against arrows, darts, and other offensive armes of the enemy. If the faile of this end, it is of noe use; it being better to be unarmed, then carry armes, that will not defend. Without armes you have the body free, and at liberty: carrying armes, though never so light, they must bee a cumber to you, and some what hinder the motion of your body. Armes therefore ought to bee sufficient to resist the weapons of the enemy. The inconvenience of defective and weakke armes is well noted by Vegetius. From the building of the City of Rome, saith hee, till the time of the Emperour Grarian, the foote armed their bodies with Cataphracts, and head-pieces. But when field exercise through negligence and sloth was given over, armour began to growe heavy, because it was fildome put on. They made suite therefore to the Emperour first, that they might leaue of their Cataphracts, then their headpieces. So our souldiers encountering with the Gothes, were oftentimes wholly defeated and slaine by the multitude of their arrowes. And a little after: so cometh it to passe, saith he, that they, whose without armes, are exposed in the battaile to woundes, thinke not so much of fight, as of running away. Yet must wee not imagine, that those souldiers fought in their ordinary apparail onely: I incline rather to the opinion of ^c Stewechius, whose holdeth, that they tooke themselves to their military coates, called in ^d Notitia vtraque, Thoracomachi: and to their Targets; This Thoracomachus is a garment invented long before Grarians time, and worne under the armours of the souldiers, and was a kind of felt, but being noe proof against arrowes, and thirve targets not sufficient to cover their heads, and whole bodies. From arrowes, they were so innocuous to the force of the Gothes, and receyved those overthrowes, Vegetius speaketh of.

The master wherof strong armes were made, I find to bee divers. Some were forged of Steele, as the armour of Goliath, and the head-piece of K. Saul. For it is not to be fitt to doe, what his curace was of, Nor withstanding it is likely, as was of the same matter, of which his head-piece was made. While I say these armours were of Steele, I follow therein the judgement of Tremellius and Junius, whose so translate it; & with them also agreech P. a. tabus. For the old translation hath, that they were of brass. I have not else where read of Steele armour. And it may bee, that the old translation had an eye upon the sige of ancient times, wherein the matter of armes was principally of Brasse. Homer repeateth, that the armour of Diomedes was of brasse; & Pausanias, that all the ^o Heroes, that is the ancient worthies about the time of the siege of Troy, had their armour of Brasse. Alcæus the Poet in describing his armory saith, that best of his armes were of brasse, as his head-pieces, his greaves, his Targets, only his Cuiraces were of linnen. Pausanias reporteth also that the sword of Menon was of brasse, & the head of the spear of Achilles, & Pindarus saith, & the head of Sterion's his shaft. Servius Tullius in setting the City of Rome, appointed the chiefe & richest Citizens to serve themselves with headpieces, greaves, Curace, & buckler also of brasse. The targets of the Lacedæmonians were of brasse also by the institution of Lysurgus. So that brasse was much used in armes in the oldest times, and where Alcæus speaketh of his linnen Curace, I find that Curaces of linnen were in request also even in those times. Homer affirmeth that Ajax Oileus had a linnen Curace. But afterward I philosophates the Athenian he d. them so good, that he gave them to his souldiers to wear, in steed of their usuall armes made of iron, & brasse. And Xenophon armeth Abradates the K. of Susse with a linnen armour, adding that it was the manner of that Country. And Plutarch saith, that Alex. the great, after he had gotten the victory against Darius in Cilicia, found amongst the spoile a linn armour, which he afterward used in the battailes, he fought. Patricius is so confident in the strength of a linn armour of his owne device, that he doubteth not to preferre it before well tempered iron. What his invention is, he keepeth to himselfe, for feare the Turk should have intelligence of it, & so Christianity bee driven to an exigent. Almen knowe, that the temper of an iron armour may be such, as will resist the violence of a musket shotte, and that at a neere distance. Neither is this temper the invention of our dayes. The like hath been of ancient times. Plutarch writeth, that Demetrius besieging Rhodes, was presented with two iron armours brought out of Cyprus, either of the weight of 40 pounds. The maker of them, whose name was Zeilus, desired to have their strength & firmnes discharged out of a Catapult. The armour hute remained unpierced, nothing appearing, & so it was the raising as it were, of a pikin. And that a Catapult is of more violence, the musket of the English declared in history make plaine. Whether a linnen coat be of that resistance, or not, hath not been yet tried. Nay the contrary hath been tried. For Alexander at a siege of a City of the Indians (as I take it) was sore wounded with an Indian arrowe through an armour of linnen. Whose armour I would iudge to have bene not of the slenderest, and weakest, but of the strongest kinde. Yet it is not to be passed over that in Lipsius allegeth out of Nicetas Chronates concerning a linnen armour of Conradus of Monofa Curacee had on a woven weed made of flaxe, soaked in sowre wine, well filled, and often-folded. It was so sure against outward force of strokes, being soaked with wine, and salte, that it could not bee pierced with iron or Steele. This invention our age hath not bene acquainted with; Whether it bee the same, that Patricius armeth as, for experience iudge. This antiquity praised it in wood, Pliny wine, ferus, who writing of wood and woollen garments saith: "Of wood wrought and pressed together by it selfe alone

alone (I think as our hatters worke felt) a garment is made; & if you worke it with vinger, it cannot bee strooke through with a sword. This wooll to wrought, he calleth coactam: which in Caesar, as I take it, is called Subcoactum, Caesars wordes sound thus: "Pompey, although hee had no purpose to hinder Caesarus workes with his whole army, nor yet to hazard battaile, sent notwithstanding archers and slingers, of whom hee had great store, to convenient places; and by them many of our souldiers were wounded, & a generall feare of arrowes fell upon them, and well nigh our whole campe made themselves coates and casses of either felts (subcoacts) or quilts, or leather, thereby to avoide the danger of sling weapons. But we will leave Patricius to his fancy, and adde an example out of Xenophon of armours used by the Chalybes, a nation inhabiting the Chaldaean Mountains. The Chalybes, saith hee, were the most valiant nation, that the Grecians passed through, & such as durst come to handes with them. They used linnen Curaces reaching downe to their bellies, and in steede of wings, they had ropes thick woold, and fastened together. The strength of ropes thick woold together must, no question, bee great. Caesar confirmeth it. Emongst other defences, which his souldiers desired for assurance of a Turret against the Engines of the Artillians, he saith: "They made fourte foories of Cables fitting the length of the wallles of the Turret, and fourte foorie broad, and fastened them hanging downward to the beames sticking out of the Turret on those three parts, which lay toward the enemy, which kinde of covering alone, they had in other places made triall, could bee forced or broken through by no misse weapon, or Engine whatsoever. Thus, I have beard, was the device of the Spaniards in 88. to defend their ships against the fury of our artillery. Whereof I may inferre, that if Cables combined together bee of such assurance against Engines, ropes thick layde and fastened together must bee a strong defence against a sword. To end with the matter, wherof armes were made, I find: likewise, that the Attacrones used, in steede of Curaces, coates made of haire. And thus much of the matter of Armes.

Besides, armes should be fitt for the body, and for the strength of him, that beares them. When David was to fight against Goliath, K. Saul, seeing him without armour, caused his owne head-piece & curace to be put upon him. David stayed to make the, but finding these armes to be heavy, was faine to leave them, and to goe against Goliath unarmed. Saul was the tallest man of his nation, David but meane of stature, & to put armour proportioned to a large body upon him, that is a great waste of members, it is as much, as to deliver him bound to his enemy. Xenophon emongst other causes, why the Lacedæmonian horse were beaten by the Thebans at the Leuctra battaile, alleageth thus for a maine cause. That the richest men kept & furnished out horses, & as often as musters were take, the man, that was to serve, shewed himself, & answered to his name. & receiving horse & armes, such as were given him, was so led against the enemy. They were beaten, saith Xenophon, receiving horse & armes at an adventure, not knowing, whether they were fitt for service, or not. Whether armes be to bigge or to litle, they hurt a litle. To litle, they pinche the bearer, & make him not able to endure labour; because he is in paine. To great, by their slap and loose hanging about the body, they hinder the motion of those partes, that are to be employed in fight. Being fitt, they differ litle from ordinary apparell, except it be in weight. Which inconvenience is easily remedied by use and practise. In the writeth of the Roman souldier, that his continuall use of armes was such, that hee noe more reconed his target, sword, head-piece, & other armes to bee burdensome unto him, than his shoulders, armes, & hads: & said that armes were

part of a souldiers body, being so fitly made & borne, that need requiring, they could throw down their burdens, & vse their ready armes in fight, as the members of their bodies. *Yet must care be had, that their weight exceed not the strength of him, that beareth them. For whoe will be able to continue long in fight, that bestride the labour of fight, is charged with a burden more, then he can well beare. The proofe is plain in beasts, which how strong soever they be faint & tire vnder too much weight. Aelian after speaking of the length of pikes, giueth this rule, that they bee not longer then a man may well vse, & wield in handling. To much length maketh them too heauy, & vnfit to be managed; wherby they rest vnprofitable to offend the enemy. In this property of himselfe those armes & weapons are comprehended, which are of most vse in the field. For as in all other artes things of greatest effect are alwayes preferred, so is it in warr. There is great aduantage in armes, which is the cause, that one kinde hath been preferred before another. *Emilius Probus* giueth a notable testimony of skill in matters of warr to *Iphicrates*, of whom he writeth thus: *Iphicrates* the Athenian invented many things in warr. Hee changed the armes of the foote: For whereas before they vsed great targets, short pikes, & little swordes, he gaue them little round targets, called *Peltae*, that they might be fitter for motions, & encounters, and doubled the fift of their pikes, & made their swordes longer. Hee likewise changed their *Curaces*, & in stede of iron, & brasse, brought in other wrought of linen, wherby he made them nimble at all assaies. For lessening the weight, hee brought to passe, that they as much covered the body, and yet were very light, and fitt for vse. Of these targets, which *Iphicrates* invented, the names of *Peltari* (Targets) sprang: of whom wee shall heare more in this chapter. And yet wee must not heereof conclude that *Iphicrates* changed all the armed foote into Targets; for the Athenians had still their armed foot, by adding this motion of Targets, as *Xenophon* testifieth; but where as the Athenians before had not targets of their owne people, (as I conceiue) *Iphicrates* brought in this kind of armour: and so of the armed, hee made some targets, & left the rest to the armes, they bore before, indging it more profitable to haue both Targets, & Armed of their owne people, then armed alone. *Philostratus* also the true Achaean General taught his Country-men in stede of longer targets & Lancelines to take arround targets (called *Aspis*) & a pike after the Macedonian manner, and to arme themselves with head pieces, *Curaces*, & greues, and to fitt themselves to a staid, and firme kind of fight, in lieu of concourse, and pellastical encounters, and by this meanes brought ibe to be valiant, & braue souldiers, & victorious in their fights against their enemies. *Polyb.* discoursing of the Gaulois & Spanish swordes of ancient time, saith, that the Gauls sword was so fashioned, that it serued onely to strike with, and but for one stroke: after which it so bowed both in length & breadth, that vnlesse the point were rested vpon the ground, & the blade rightened, you could not strike with it the second time. But the Spanish sword was both for thrust & stroke, having a strong point, & a stiffe & sure edge to strike withal on either side by reason of the firmnesse of the blade. This difference the Romans espied, and being excellent imitators of all things, which were best for vse (though they were enemies from whom they tooke them), made choice of the Spanish swordes: & after *Annibals* time caused their foote to vse no other. *Suidas* witnesseth it. The Spaniards, saith he, in forme of swordes farre excell all other nations. For their swordes both haue a strong point, and an edge on either side, that entrench deep in striking. Which caused the Romans to lay down their owne country swordes, and take the Spanish forme from them, that followed *Annibal*. The forme they took, but the goodnesse of the metall, & exactnesse of the temper they*

they could never attaine vnto. The Romans then reiecte the french swordes, as of small vse, & imitated the Spanish, because they were fitt for service. *Xenophon* describing the nation, which followed *Crasus* against *Cyrus*, shewes manner of arming, and order in battail, telling of the Egyptians, that they were armed with targets reaching downe to their knees, with long pikes, & with swordes, which they call *Copides*, & for order, load a hundred in depth, & bringeth in *Cyrus* deriding this manner of arming, and order, to his souldiers, saying they were a like armed, a like embattailed. For their targets, said he, are greater then is fitt for action, & for fight, & being ranged a hundred deep, it is manifest, they will hinder one another in fight, except a few. *Annibal*, after his first victory against the Romans, armed his Africans (his best & most trusty souldiers) with the armour of the flaine Romans; because he found it better, then his owne; & *Pyrhus* vsed not onely the armour, but the Italian souldiers also: & ranged them a cohort & a *Merarchy*, after nativly one by another. *Ancient* *Mithridates* after his experience in his first wars with the Romans, that a pelt in arming, as in manner of fight, they excelled all other nations, left the arming of his owne Country, & brought in the Roman sword & target, & reduced all as were, as hee could vnto their discipline. So then strength & staynesse are required in armes. To them is comeliest, & aduoyed, the shield of *Achilles* how was it beautified with pictures & Stories by *Vulcan*; and that of *Aeneas*, coming out of the same forge, how glorious was it: To say nothing of the braue armes of *Alexander*, *Agamemnon*, *Dionides*, *Glaucus*, *Turmus*, *Mecentius*, & other. *Alexander*'s armes were very rich: He had a Sicilian Casseck gyrded vpon a double lin. *Curace* the spoile of liffes: his headpiece was of iron, shining like pure silver, the work of *Theophilus*; about his necke was an iron gorget beset with precious stones. A sword hee had of wonderful temper & lightnesse, the gift of the Citeian King. Hee wore a baurdrick of powder worke, then the rest of his armour, the work of the elder *Elicon*, & the honour of the Rhodian City. *Cyrus* the elder, that lived before *Alex*'s time, had armes provided by his Grandfather *Astages* both very faire, & fitt for his body. *Abradates* the Sufian king had his headpiece of gold, & vambraces, and bracelets about his wrists, & a purple Coate, and a plume of hyacinthine feathers. Neither did this bravery rest amongst the Princes alone. The souldiers of *Cyrus* were furnished with the same armes, that *Cyrus* himselfe bore, with scarlet coates, *Curaces* of brasse, brasse helmets, white plumes, swordes, & every one a darte. They differed onely in this that their armes were guilded, *Cyrus*'s armes shined, & had a reflexion, as it were, a looking glasse. And *Alexander*, hearing of the riche armour, the Indians bore, to make his owne souldiers equal with the in bravery, whom they excceeded in valor, caused their targets to be plated over with silver (whereof they were after called *Argyraspides*) & their horse-bittes to be made of gold, & adorned their *Curaces*, some with silver, other with gold. *This might seeme pompe & superfluity in a young King, were it not that the like was done by other the greatest Generals of ancient times; Cesar may serue for an example for al, whose souldiers how gallant and braue they were, Plus testifies in his life. The Romans otherwise much addicted to frugality, allowed yet liberally ornaments to the honouring of worthy souldiers, rewarding them for their service, with rich trappings for horses, chains of gold, bracelets, crownes of gold & other honors: wherby they were not only in the field, but at all other solemnities & meetings in the City. And for every comon souldier they provided plumes of purple, or blacke feathers, every one of a cutt long. Of which plumes *Polyb.* giueth this iudgement: Plumes, saith hee, being added to the rest of the armour maketh a souldier seeme twice as great, as hee is; and beside the faire shewe, they make, they are terrible to the enemy in fight. A man may seeme as light, as a feather, that discomfeth of plumes, & fetcheth ornaments from feathers.*

e Phil in Pluton.
Polyb li 11, p. 59.

the meaning of the Oracle was not of Cocks, but of men, that wearing some ornament on their heads, had a resemblance of Cocks, waged a multitude of Carians against Teme-thes, by whose help he overthrew Temethes in battaile, & possessed himself of the crown of Egypt. Now for the true end of souldiers ornaments I will onely adde one example. Philopomen the Achaean in reforming the abuses crept into the Achaean State with great judgement (I will use the wordes of Plutarch,) reduced to order their delicacies & superfluities. It was not possible quite to take away the sicknesse of vain & idle desires, wherewith they had of long time been possessed, delighting in excess of appaile, in riche dyes of coverlets, & carpets, striving one with another, who should be most sumptuous in bankets & featings. But by litle & litle beginning to turne their thoughts from vaneccessary expences to a love of comeliness in thinges, that were profitable & honest, he brought them at last to leaue the expences of the body, & to shew themselves gallant, & braue, in soldierly, & warlick furniture. A man might therefore haue scene the shoppes full of silver and golden cuppes cutte a peeces, of curaces gilded with gold, of silvered targets, and bittes, the places of exercise fraught with colts then first backed for service, & with yong gallants managing their armes, & in the handes of women head-pieces adorned with divers coloured trymmings, hortemens coates, and souldiers cloakes curiously embellished with flowers. For the very sight of these things both encreaseth spirit, & stirreth up desire, & engendreth an vndaunted boldnesse, and alacrity to daungers. In other shewes to much lavishing bringeth in effeminate-nesse, & worketh a remissenesse of minde, the fence with vaine pleatings and ticklings subverting, as it were, the vigor and force of the vnderstanding. But in these the Spirits are much heighened, and exalted. As Homer bringeth in Achilles at the very sight of his newe armour ravished and inflamed with a desire to bee doing with it. Thus garnishing the youth hee exercised & hardened them to labour and warlike motions, making them thereby to vndergoe with desire whatsoever they were commaunded. So farre Plutarch. Out of whose opinion it followeth, that Bravery of armes raiseth the spirits, stirreth up desire to fight, maketh the souldier bold, and cheerefull to perills, and as Polybius holdeth pleaseth the sight, encreaseth stature in shewe, and is a terror to the enemy. Yet ought there therein a meane to be sought, & rather an assurance followed, then vaine gazing and ostentation. Antiochus being to fight with the Romans gathered a mighty army together. And seeing them glitter with gold and silver, and with all excess of bravery, as the manner of the Asiaticall people was, tooke so great delight therein himself, that calling Anniball unto him, hee shewed his troopes, and demanded, if hee thought not that Army sufficient for the Romans: yes quoth Anniball, though they were the most covetous people in the world. Anniball with good reason derided the vaine shewe fitter for a male, then a field militarie.

manifolds, and caused long heavy targets to bee framed, and choise horses, rather that were already managed, and made fitte for service, then those that were richly trapp'd and garnished. So farre Plutarch. The souldiers care there for: to be first for surenesse, then for sinnesse, lastly for comeliness and ornaments in armes. If the two first fail, the last will be a burden, and will proue rather a burden, then a defence. And thus much of armes in generall: Nowe followe the particulars of armes, as they are in Elian.

I Preparations absolutely necessary for warre] The preparations, wherof Elian speaketh, are so necessary, that without them no warre can be made or continued. For purposing to fight by water you must haue shippes, by land, you must haue foote, and horse. For which, if you provide noe armes, you put them into the field not to fight, but to bee slayn there. The manner of fight in the field is not of one sort. Some time celerity is needfull, to attempt or prevent the enemy: sometime a slowe and sure proceeding, left with too much hast, wee be overtaken or selues. Therefore the divers arming of souldiers, ought to be such, that they may serue for all occasions, and uses, and that wee may employ alwayes to service such, as by reason of their armour, shall most fitte our purpose. Wherefore Thucydides first resembled an army to a mans body: calling the heavy-armed the body, the light-armed the hands, the horse the feete, and the Generall the head: and as, if any of the rest were wanting, the army should bee lame, and halted, so if there want a Generall, it is unprofitable, and of noe use. The heavy armed are the body, which giue life and foode, as it were, to the rest: and to which the rest being directed, retire. The light-armed are the handes, which vpon every occasion being put out to grpe and take hold vpon the enemy, are drawn in againe, when it is expedient. The horse, as feet, moue with celerity: the Generall is the head, that ruleth, that watcheth, that careth for the rest, directing the times of their motion, and of their rest. So then the whole force of the field consisteth of horse, and foote. And the foote are reparted into three kinds.

I Armed, Targetiers and light-armed] These fewall kinds of souldiers were used by all the Grecians, especially by the Athenians, Lacedamonians, and Thebans, who were the mightiest, and the most warlike people of Greece. Alexander had them in his army against Darius. When Alexander saith Arrian, came to the place, where Carius (with whom Xenophon was) encamped, and sawe the streights of Cilicia possessed with a strong gard, hee left Parmenio with the heavy-armed, to stay behind, himselfe about the first watch taking with him the Hypaspistes, archiers and Agrians, marched on toward the streights in the night. The armed were left with Parmenion, himselfe took with him the Hypaspistes (targetiers) archiers, and Agrians. These Agrians were darters on foote. The like is to be found in divers other places of Arrian. Pyrrhus also, that followed the Macedonian manner in arming his souldiers, had the same division of armes. And Philip King of

a Plutarch in Pe-
loida Pe' ven l
3 in Iphic' p. 28
ca. 24, 25 p. 192

b Thucyd. lib. 4
315. B. C.

c Arrian. li. 3. c. 22.

d Arrian. li. 1. 14

e Plutarch. in
Pyrrho. li. 3. 19.

because it is some what resembleth the Curaces of our time, I will reherse the description out of Pausanias. There lay vpon the aulier, saith hee, a brazen Curace, the forme whereof agreeth not with the vse of our times, but of old it was common. It had two plates of brasle, one fitte for the brest and the belly, the other to cover the backe. That before, was called *gyalon* (the hollow part) that behynd *Prosegon* (because it was added to the other.) They were fastened together with buttons behinde. It seemeth to bee a sufficient defence for a mans body without a target, Therefore Homer maketh Phorcys the Phrygian to fight without a target, because he wore such a Curace. But yet, that it was not the manner of the Macedonian armed to bare pike & target alone, may be plaine many wayes. First d Polen giueth them headpieces, & greues, and targets, and pikes. Then doubt I not but they were as well armed as the rest of the Grecians, within whose Panoplia Curaces were compr. bend. d as S. Paule testifieth, reckoning as parcels of the Panoplia a Curace, a target, & a headpiece. Now that the Macedonians had also their Panoplia full or complete arming is to be found in d Diod. Siculus. Where also Choragus the Macedonian (whom d Curtius calleth Horatas) is said in the fight betwixt him & Dioxippus to be fully armed. d Leo describeth the Panoplia of the Macedonians after this manner. Alexander, saith hee, armed his Macedonians with a large target, a sword, a head-piece, greues, vambraces, and a long pike. Philopomen (as is before reherced) reducing his Aethians to the Macedonian arming, bringeth them to Curaces, headpieces & greues. The names also that are attributed to the Armed, shew they were otherwise armed. d Plutarch calleth them *Pephragmenos*, & *Cataphractos*, as having their bodies all armed & opposeth them to *Fuconi* (hoth or naked). And by Vegetius, the armour is self is named *Cataphracta*, because the whole body is covered there with. k Xenophon termeth them *Thoracophoros* (bearing Curaces.) These are the strength of the battaile, and a strong wall, or rather a fortresse of the field, to whom the light-armed, and the horse also retire in time of need. As long as they stand, the field is not lost; being defeated, the rest can make noe resistance. Being armed with a single target without other armes, they incur the same daunger, that the Romans in Graians time did, whose for want of Curaces were entirely destroyed with the arrows of the Gothes. Wherefore, it seemeth, Alian heer pointeth at the principall armes onely of the armed Macedonian, For after ward discoursing of the light-armed, he saith, they neither had Curace, nor greue, nor long or round target: implieng thereby, that the armed had them all. So Livy, comparing the armes of the Romans and Macedonians together, saith noe more, then, that the Macedonians were armed with a round target and a pike, the Romans with a long target, and a darre, called *Pilum*; when himself had before declared, they had headpieces, Curaces, and greues.

3 Vling targets after the Macedonian manner Targets were of two sortes, round targets, and long targets. Long targets were called *Thureo*, and were in forme like a doore, from whence they had their name. d Plutarch

been able to haue borne them for the weight. I deny not, that in ancient time some targets were plated with brasle: the rather, because I find, that Alexander to match the Indian pompe covered the targets of his souldiers with plates of silver. But, that the ordinary Macedonian target was so covered, I deny. d Alian after calleth them *chalice* (brazen) not epichalce (covered with brasle). y Polyb. saith, that the Macedonians in the time of K. Philip the sonne of Demetrius were called *Chalcaspides* (Brazen targetiers) not epichalkitai, by which name, as Hefychius hath, they were called, that had their targets covered with brasle. So likewise in the time of Persus. And the Megapoliens, who imitated the Macedonian manner of arming, are termed *Chalcaspides* in Polybias: I haue shewed that the Lacedemonians had brazen targets by the institution of Ljcurgus; that, in the time of the Heroes almost all armour was made of brasle. The targets of the Lacedemonians that were slaine at the battaile of Leuctra were brasle, and to be scene in the time of Pausanias; and the brasen target of Pyrrhus, which he left at Argos being there slaine, was kept in the temple of Ceres. As for the weight, it is not so great but it may become light enough by vse, and exercise. Wee see iron targets in vse at this day, and not hard to be borne. And about the weight bee not for euery mans strength, yet since it hath bene, and is, the manner to make choice of souldiers, and to fitteth them with armes according to the ability of their bodies, I see noe reason, but the stronger sort might well bear them. Another sort of targets there was which differed from the Macedonian not so much in forme of roundnesse, as in matter, and manner of carieng. They were made of wicker, and borne in the left hand as our bucklers, which wee used not long since, and some covered over with hides some not. I Xenophon saith, that Cyrus the elder armed the Persians with these wicker targets: & relating upon the nations, through whose Countreies the Grecians passed in their returne out of Persia, & describing their armes, reporteth that the Chalybes, Cauchi, & Phasiens had targets of this kinde. Now, that they were borne in the left hand is clear by the same Xenophon. Hee writeth thus of the fight betwixt Cyrus & Croesus: The Egyptians & Persians encountering together, the fight was hard & sharpe: & the Egyptians aswell in number as in armes, had the advantage. For they fought with stiffe, long pikes, & their large targets better covered their bodies, then Curaces, or wicker targets, and being borne on their shoulders availed to joint thrusting forward. Serring therefore their targets close, they aduanced, & ranne on. The Persians were not able to endure the shock, by reason they bore their wicker targets at the armes end, but retiring by litle, & litle, & giving, & taking blowes, they maintained the fight till they came to the Engins. So farre Xenophon. Out of which words a man may plainly vnderstand the manner of bearing these wicker targets, which by reason of lightnesse might easily bee held out at armes end. And as the Egyptian target, which reached downe to the foote, must needs bee heavy, and therefore had need of the shoulder to support it, so was it with the brasen targets of the Macedonians, which were likewise borne by the shoulder, and not by the armes end. The Chalybes

1 Flying weapons onely] The light-armed are divided into three kinds, Archers, Darters, and Slingers. Which three kinds were of much use amongst the Gracians, and they beare onely flying weapons. Xenophon testifieth that Cyrus the elder had them: And the Gracians in their returne out of Persia: Alexander had them in his warre against Darius: and Pyrrhus in his warre in Italy, Sicill and Greece: The Gracians against Brennus King of the Gaules: Both the Athenians, & Thebans at the battaile of Delos.

7 Arrowes] Archers haue alwayes bene of speciall esteeme for the field, and preferred before the other kinds of light-armed. Many nations haue bene commended for their skill in shooting. Emongst the Gracians the Cretans were (of ancient time) sole archers, as Pausanias witnesseth. Yet was not their service aqual with the service of the Persians. For Xenophon confesseth, that the Persian bowe overreached the Cretan a great way: and that the Rhodians with their sling overthrew the Cretan bow. Of the Cardichans a people, through whose Countrey the Gracians passed at their returne out of Persia, Xenophon writeth thus: They caried noe other armes, then bowes and slinges. They were excellent archers; and had bowes well nigh three cubits long; arrowes more, then two Cubits. When they shotte, they drew the string, applieng their hand some what toward the neither end of the bowe, setting their left foote forward. With their arrowes they pierced both targets, and Curates. The Gracians putting thonges to the middle of their arrowes sent them back at the enemy in steede of Darts. The same in effect is reported by Diodorus Siculus. Of the Parthian horsemen, Appian saith: When Crassus commaunded the light-armed to disband, & goe to the charge they went not farre, but meeting with many arrowes, and being foregalled with them, they retired streight, and hid themselves emongst the armed, and gaue beginning of disorder, and feare, representing to the sight of the rest, the force, and violence of the shotte, that rent all armes, they fell vpon, and made way afwell thorough bodies, that had the best, as the worst furniture defensue: giving mighty and violent strokes from stiffe and great bowes, and forcing out the arrowe boisterously with the compasse, and bent of the bowe. Plutarch hath the very wordes, that are in Appian. The Indians also were good archers, albeit not much praised by Q. Curtius. Hee saith: their arrowes were two Cubits long, which they deliver out of their bowes, with more labour, then effect: for as much as the arrow, whose whole efficacy is in lightnesse, becometh altogether vnwieldy by reason of the weight. And yet hee telleth, that Alexander, at the assault of the principall City of the Mallians, was strooke thorough his Curace into the side beneath the pappes with an Indian arrowe: with whome Plutarch and Diod. Siculus accord. Arrian addeth the wound was so deep, that his breath was almost choked.

as necessary for the price of the field (that long after gunnes were invented) preferred the English before all other, and setteth him downe, as a patterne for other to follow. And Patritius, disputing of the violence of arrowes, doubteth not to affirme, that an English arrowe with a litle waxe put vpo the point of the head, will passe through any ordinary Corlette or Curace. Howsoever the credit of bowes is lost, at this present, with many great souldiers, yet haue they of ancient time been highly prized. Veget. saith; how great advantage good archers bring in fight, both Cato in his bookes of military discipline doth shewe evidently, and Claudius, by augmenting the number of archers, and teaching of them the use of their bowes, overcame the enemy, whome before hee was not able to matche. Scipio Africanus (the yonger) being to giue battaile to the Numantines, that before had forced a Roman army to passe vnder the yoke, thought hee could not otherwise haue the better, vnlesse hee mingled chosen archers in euery Century. And Leo the Emperour in his Constitutions militariy hath this Constitution emongst other: You shall committ all the Roman youth, till they come to forty yeares of age, whether they haue meanes skill in shooting, or not, to cary bowes & quivers of arrowes. For since the art of shooting hath been neglected, many, & great losses haue befallen the Romans. And in another place: you shall enioyne the Commanders vnder you, in winter to take a view, and to signify to the Turmarches (Coronells) how many horse, & what kinde of armes the souldiers, vnder their commaundes, stand in need of, that necessary provision bee made, & the souldiers be furnished in time convenient. But specially you are to haue care of archers; & that they, whome remaine at home, & haue vacation from warre, hold bowes and arrowes in their howffes. For carelesse heerein hath brought great dammage to the Roman State. So Leo. This of old time was the opinion of the Romans concerning archers. Howe we are fallen out with them in our dayes (the skill of the bowe, being a quality so commendable, and so proper to our nation) I knowe not, vnlesse fire-weapons perhaps haue put them out of countenance. And surely it may not be denied, that the force of fireweapons of our time doth farre exceed the height of all old inventions for anyeing the enemy. And, when I haue giuen them the first place, I will not doubt to giue the second to bowes and arrowes: being so farre from casting them off, that I would rather follow the wisdom of the Gracians; whoe albeit they esteemed arrowes the best flying weapons, yet thought it not amisse to hold in use slinges, and darts. Every weapon hath its property; and that which is fitt for one service, is not fitt for another. The fire-weapons haue their advantages; they haue also their disadvantages. Their advantage is, they pierce all defence of armour, and lighting vpon a place of the body, the wound wherof endanveth life, they bring with them certeine death. Their disadvantages are, they are not alwayes certeine, sometimes for want of charging, sometimes

fire upon the enemy at once. For the better, dispatching, shall either wound there
owne Companions before, or else shoot at random and so no thing endanger the enemy,
the force of a musket being only as a cicab at point blank. Contrary wise the disad-
vantage of arrowes is in the weaknesse of the stroke, which is not able to enter a Cu-
race, that the force or horse never se. Yet can not whether bee founde, where in you
may not have good use of bowes: raine, snowe, winde, hails, foggies, hinder little of-
pecially the firing of the bowe being not to wette, may rather profit. Because in there
you can hardy discern: much lesse ascende, the fall of the arrowe. As for quicknesse in
delivry he bowe farre excelleth the musket. A good single archer is able to give five
shotts in exchange for one of the muskettier; and that with such certaintie, that you shall
not heare of an arrow that misse the delivry of his arrow, where the muskettier,
often faileth by reason of the accidents and impediments before by mee rehearsed. I conceive that
a whole squad on of archers, being embattailed, may shoute at once together: which onely
the first rank of muskettiers may doe. And make the case there were a hundred mus-
kettiers, and hundred bowemen each digested into ten files, the file concerning ten men,
the bowemen shall bee able to shoute at once a hundred arrowes (all these arrowes, for ten
bullets given by the muskettiers, namely those ten of the first ranke discharging alone. It
must not be pretermitted, that the bowe and quiver both for marching & all service, are
lighter and of lesse labour to use, then a musket, which is noe small advantage in armes
and fight. To conclude the bowemen may be placed behinde the armed foote, and

a Plutarchus.

yet in shooting over the Phalange annoy the enemy before joyning, and all the time of
fight, even whilst they are at p'sse of pike; where the muskettier, there placed, must
either idly look on, or else playeng with his musket, most of all endanger his owne
friends. Neither is the force of arrowes so weak, as is immagined, nor not in the
arming of our dayes. For the pike albeit hee have his head and body covered, yet are
his legges, and feete, his armes, and handes open to woundes: any of which parts being
wounded brings a disability of service. To say nothing of his face, and eyes, before
which the showers of arrowes falling like a tempest without intermission, must needs
breed a remediless terrour, and make him thinke rather of saving himselfe, then offen-
ding his enemy. The muskettier being also unarmed is as subject to the shotte of arrowes,
as the archer is to the shotte of the musket, and the arrow touching any vitall parte, as
much taketh away life, as doth the musket. Lastly a horse-man for his owne person (I
must confesse) is safe enough from the daunger of arrowes by reason of his armour but his
horse, being a faire and large mark, and having neither barbe, nor pectorall, nor
ought else to hide his head or breast, how can hee escape woundes? Witnesse our fieldes
in France, where our Archers alwayes beate the frenche horse, being barbed, and bet-
ter armed, then our horse are, at this day. And for the bloody effect of bowes the story
of Plutarch is worth the rehearsing. He, in the life of Crassus hath thus: The Parthians
opposing the Cataphracts against the Roman horse, the other Perrians collo-

b Plutarch in Crasso.

and their feete fastened to the grownde, whereby they were vnable either to
fly, or fight. These wonders did the Parthian bowes, which notwithstanding were not to
be compared to our ancient English bowes, either for strength, or farre shooting. And
that we may not seeme to rely upon antiquity alone. The battaile of Curzolare (com-
monly called the battaile of Lepanto) fought in our dayes betwixt the Turkes, & Christi-
ans by sea may serve for an experience of the service of bowes and arrowes. In which there
died of the Christians by the arrowes of the Turkes above five thousand, albeit they were
in gallies and ships, and had there blindes pretended to see from sight, and mark of the
Turks, where as the artillery of all sorts of the Christians consumed not so many Turkes:
notwithstanding the Christians had the victory. Nowe then for us to leave the bowe,
being a weapon of so great efficacy, so ready, so familiar, and as it were so domesticall to
our nation, to which we were wont to be accustomed from our Cradle, because other
nations take themselves to the Musket, hath not so much as any shewe of reason. Other
nations may well forbear that, they never had. Neither Italian, nor Spaniard, nor
Frenche, nor Dutche, have these five hundred years, been accounted Archers. It was
a skill almost appropriated to our nation. By it, wee gayned the battailes of Cressy, of
Poitiers, of Agincourt, in France: of Navarre, in Spaine: By it, wee made our selves
famous over Christendome. And to give it over upon a conceit onely (for noe ex-
perience can say that our bowe was ever beaten out of the field by the musket) will prove
an imitation of Asops dogge, who carrying a piece of flethe in his mouth over a ri-
ver, and seeing the shadowe in the water, snatched at the shadowe, and left the flethe.
I speake not thus to abase the service of muskets, which all men must acknowledge
to be great: I onely shewe, there may be good use of bowes, if our archers were
such, as they were wont: which is not to be dispaired, and will easily come with exer-
cise.

8 Dartes] The names of dartes are divers in the Greek Story. A Darte is
often called Acontion: and thereof cometh Acontizo, to throwe a darte, and darter
are called Acontistæ. So doth Alian here terme a darte. Sometimes a darte is ter-
med Palton of the verbe παλναι signifying to shake or make quiver. The word Palton is
much used in Arrian and Xenophon especially, when they speake of the Persian dartes.
Yet Diodorus Siculus nameth the Persian darte Saunion: which name also is given
to a Grecian darte by Plutarch, and by the same Diodorus. Sometimes a darte is named
Doration: Doru, is I say, being a Speare, and Doration according to Suidas, a little
speare, or darte. Alian useth the word in this Chap. Lonche, albeit it properly signify
the head of speare, or darte, yet doth it sometimes signify, the darte it self. So is it ta-
ken in Xenophon, when hee telleth, that suing weapons began to walk on all sides, &c.
(that is dartes) arrowes, and stones out of slings, and some oar hands. And Dio-
dorus Siculus hath βαλόντων τὰς ἀγύνας, to throwe dartes, even in the actes of Alexan-
der. Yet we find that speares were also cast under that name, and Xenophon

b Xenop. de rep.
Cyr. lib. 3. p. 306 C
c Arrian. lib. 15. p. 1
d Xenophon. Cyr.
lib. 19. p. 116. A
e Xenophon. Cyr.
lib. 19. p. 116. A
f Xenophon. de ex-
ped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 359
A. lib. de venatio-
ne. p. 311 E
g Xenophon. de ex-
ped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 359
h Diod. Sicil. li.
17. p. 607. & 615.
i Xenophon. Hist.
lib. 1. p. 12. & 13. D.
k Xenophon. de ex-
ped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 359 D.

and Xenophon seem to affirm it, when speaking of the arrows of the Carduchians, he saith they were longer, then two cubits, & addeth, the Gracians sent them backe againe at the enemy in stede of Darts. About the middest of these darts they fastened a thong, which was called *αἰκία*, wherein, inserting their forefinger, they launched the dart with more facility. Xenophon witnesseth it in the same place, and in another place hee saith, ^d Xenophon commaunded the targetiers to marche with their fingers in the thonges of their darts, the archers with their arrowes knocked, the slingers with their scryppes full of stones, that they might be redy to let fly, when they were commaunded. These darts were forcible enough to pierce armoures of that time, and that with them alone Iphicrates overthrow and destroyed a whole Mora of the Lacedaemonians, which people were accounted the best armed, and the most valiant of the Greekes, before the Macedonians came in credit.

9 Stones.] There are heere mentioned two manner of throwing stones, the one with the sling, the other with hand alone. The stones, thrown with the sling, fly with much more violence, then the stones throwne with the hand: and, being cast with a skillfull and strong arme, they reache a greater way, then a man would thinke. And yet not so farre, as bullets throwne out of a sling, which by Xenophons report outreached the Persian arrowes. I haue before touched the story: I will now lay downe Xenophons wordes. The Gracians (those ten thousand, that returned out of Persia vnder the leading of Cherisophus, & Xenophon) had not marched farre, before Mithridates appeared againe with 200. horse, and 400. Archers & slingers, which were very nimble & light. Hee came close vp to the Gracians as a friend. Being neer, some of his horse, & foote began to shoote, other to sling & to wound the Gracians. The reare Commanders of the Gracians were hardly bested. Yet could they doe nothing to anoy the enemy. For the Cretans shoote not so farre, as the Persians, & carieng noe armour of defence, they were faine to hide themselves with in the body of the armed; & the Darters were not able to reache the slingers of the enemy. Xenophon therefore having the rear, thought good to charge and follow the enemy. But hee was not able to overtake them, (for the Gracians had noe horse) & the Barbarian horsemen, shooting backward in their flight, wounded many of them, that gaue the chace. To remedy this inconvenience Xenophons advice was to provide horse as many, as they could. And hearing, that there were many Rhodians in the Campe, skillfull in flinging, whose slings reached twice as farre, as the Persian sling (for the Persians vied stones, that filled the hand the Rhodians leaden bullets) hee likewise advised to armethem with slings, and vse their service. The next day the Gracians furnished out 50 horse, & 200. slingers. And when Mithridates shewed himselfe againe with a thousand horse, & foure thousand archers, & slingers, and came vp to charge, both the Rhodian bullets lighte among their ranks, and the stones of the

Diodorus Siculus writeth thus: Their armor is three slings, whereof they haue one about their heads, another about their waite, the third in their hand. In warre they cast greater stones, then any other, and with such force, that they may seeme to bee sent out of a Catapult. Therefore in sieges and assaults of Cities they wound the defendants of the walles, and in the field broake targets, and head-pieces, and all defenseiue armes. They ayme so certainly at any marke, that they seldom faile in hitting. The cause is their continuall practise from their childehode, their mothers continually enforcing them to sling, even when they are yet children. For setting vp bread vpon a poste, as a marke, they are not allowed to eate, vntill they hitte it, and haue it given them by their mothers to eate. So farre Diodorus Siculus: with whom Vegetius agreeth. The same Vegetius saith that slingers were made either of flaxe, or of a hair. The forme was that it had two ends, the one fastened to the hand, the other to let slippe, being broadest in the middest, lest the stone should fall owte. Diodorus hath before expressed with what force a stone went out of a sling. Vegetius addeth, that they are more violent, then any arrowe: piercing head pieces, Curaces, and other armis. The same Vegetius limiteth the space of their reache to six hundred foote: and saith, that slinges at that distance were seene often to hitte the make: and attribureth as much to archers. There are, that affirme, that a leaden bullet sent out of a sling will melt with the vehement motion of the air. Let the credit bee with the reporters. Wee haue not found that experiences in our pieces, which notwithstanding force out their bulles with fire, & that with greater violence, then any hand sling can doe. For stones to bee cast with the hand see Vegetius. Polybius commendeth the vse of them.

10 The armour of the Argilos] What this Argilos should meane, I see learned doubt, and I haue little to say. Whether it come as a diminutive from *αἰγίον* (swiss) or from a City of Thrace, called Argilos, or from any other originall I will not affirme. Heere if the text bee not corrupted, and the word except in, or exchanged by the negligence of some copier, it must signifie a targetier. Which Alians description maketh evident. That there was such a City in Thrace, you shall finde in the Thraciades. And that the Thracian foote for the most part were Targetiers, I remember, I haue read in Xenophon. But then a question may againe arise, slinging the inhabitants of that City were not called argiloi but arguioi (for the City it self was called Argilos) why the Targetier should be called Argilos, and not Argilios. The change is not great. Many such mistakings are to be found in transcribing of Copiers. But I thinke rather there is an error in the text; and that for two causes. First because Alias dividing the foote into three kindes, Armed, Targetiers, and light-armed, and dis-

c Xenoph. de exp. ped. Cyr. lib. 5. 312 D. & Diod. Sicul. lib. 14. 412

d Xenoph. de exp. ped. Cyr. lib. 5. 347 A.

e Xenoph. Hist. Gracian. § 599

f Xenoph. de exp. ped. Cyr. lib. 1. 496. B

d Veget. l. 1. c. 18
e Veget. lib. 3. c. 14 in Gen.

f Veget. l. 1. c. 16

g Veget. l. 1. c. 23

h Ouseind. ca. 19

i Veget. l. 1. c. 13

k Thucy l. 4. § 138
G & l. 5. § 16, D

11 A little light target called Pelta. The forme of this little target is diversly exprest by divers Authors. The Scholiastes of Thucydides giveth it a Traigonall or four sided shape: with whom also Iuppiter^b Suidas, & Hesychius saith, Pelta is a little target having noe circumference, meaning, I thinke, it is not round. Hee saith al-
 so it is a Thracian weapon: to both which significacions Suidas agreeth. The Thraci-
 ans vsed these kindes of Targets, and often sent these Targetiers to serue the Grecians.
 d Thucyd. lib. 2. 118 C
 d Nymphodorus (seeking to make a League betwixt the Athenians and Sitalces King of Thracia) promised to procure Sitalces to send them an army of horse, and Pelastis (Tar-
 getiers.) Xenophon speaking of the Thracians, that assaulted his lodging, telleth, that
 e after the Trumpet sounded, and many of his souldiers came to his aide, the Thracians
 fled casting, as their manner was, their Targets (Peltas) at their backs. When
 f Dercyllidas invaded Bithynia, Seuthes the K. of Thracia sent him horse and Pelastis (tar-
 getiers) to his aide. But the Pelta, that Alian heere mentioneth, was rounde.
 g Suidas in In-
 dace
 h Diodor. lib. 15. 408. Arrianus
 Prob in Iphicrate
 i Arrianus in Iphicrate
 k Xenop. de ex-
 pedit. lib. 7. 249 C
 l Xenop. lib. 10. 1347. A. & lib. 11. 1311 C & lib. 14. 1341
 m Xenop. histo-
 grece lib. 2. 471. E.
 n Polybius Ana-
 lect. in 8. Com-
 mune in Polyb.
 o Polyb. lib. 6. 491. C
 p Suidas in Po-
 pana.

which were not so easy to be wielded, being heavy, he provided them little targets to make them light, and quick for all service. He altered not the forme of the round-
 nesse, but diminished the weight, in abating of the breadth. i Arrianus Prob saith,
 hee made them beare little targets (Peltas) in steede of large rounde targets
 (Parma,) where vpon they were ever after called Pelastæ. The invention
 therefore of this kinde of Target is attributed to Iphicrates. For the little targets of other
 formes were long before the age of Iphicrates. k Cyrus the younger had Grecian Targetiers
 in his army: and the Grecians at their returne out of Persia: and likewise those, that
 l ioyned with Thrafsbulus to recover Athens out of the handes of the thirty Tyrants. All
 m from the Parma velitaris of the Romans, which doublet sew is round. o Polybius saith,
 the Roman horse-mens targets (Parma) were like to Cakes named Popana,
 which according to^p Suidas were broad, rounde, thinn, Cakes.

12 And his pike is much shorter] If it bee as Diodorus Siculus and Arrianus
 Prob report, that Iphicrates was the inventor of the armes of the Targetier, the pike
 should bee little shorter, then the Macedonian pike. Hee gaue them little targets for
 great Targets, and doubled the length of their pike, and sword. If the length of the pike
 were doubled, I cannot see, how it should come much shorter of the Macedonian Pike.
 But it may bee, they were long at first, and that afterward use, and commodity brought
 them to a lesse size, to the end the souldier should bee nimble and ready at charges. But
 had the Pelastæ noe other armes, then are heere mentioned: Hee had. And first hee had
 a linen Curace for lightnesse sake, and then a sword of double length to his former sword.

q Arrian. Prob.
 in Iphicrate.

many other. In perusing the story of Alexander (in Arrian, the most faithfull histo-
 rian of his deedes) I find noe Targetiers by the name of Pelastæ in all his army. The
 names of Armed, of archers, of Darters, of slingers I meete often: but not of Pelta-
 stæ. Which made mee once doubt, whether Alexander ever vsed them or noe. Since
 vpon better consideration I am inducd to thinke, though the name in the story faileth,
 yet the kinde of souldiers, so armed, and so appointed, as Alian describeth, may easily bee
 found: and that vnder the name of Hypaspitæ. Which name albeit most vsually signifie
 him, that carries another mans Target, yet is it also applied to souldiers, that are neither
 light, nor heavy-armed, of which kinde the Targetiers were, as a meane betwixt both. That
 Hypaspitæ signifieth noe heavy-armed, may bee evident by the wordes of Arrian: Alex-
 ander, when hee sawe the streights of Cilicia possessed with a strong garrd, left
 Parmenio behinde withall, that were heavy armed, himselfe about the first,
 watche taking the Hypaspitæ, and the Archers, and the Agrians (who were
 darters, as I haue shewed) led on in the night toward the streights, purposing
 to fall vpon the watche, before hee was looked for. Hee left all the heavy-armed
 with Parmenio, and tooke the Hypaspitæ with him. And in another place hee
 saith: d Alexander commaunded the Hypaspitæ first to passe the river, and af-
 ter them the Macedonian armed. Hee distinguisheth the Hypaspitæ from the
 armed. And straight after: e Three dayes after Alexander vnderstanding that
 Cleitus & Glaucias were ill lodged with their army, & neither held watche,
 nor had cast a trenche for their owne security (for they imagined Alexander
 marched away for feare) and that their Campe was stretched out to a need-
 lesse length, secretly repassed the river a litle before night, leading with him
 the Hypaspitæ, and the archers and the Agrians, and the Phalanges of Per-
 diccas and Cœnus. And in the same booke at the assault of Thebes, when Perdiccas
 had engaged himselfe and brought Amyntas with his troups in the same danger, Alex-
 ander tooke to leaue them in hazard, aduanced with the rest of his army, and gaue a signe
 to the archers and Agrians to enter the trenche, the Agemata (Livy translateth them legions)
 and Hypaspitæ hee held without. So that in all these places hee distinguisheth them from
 the heavy armed, and maketh the Hypaspitæ one, the heavy-armed another. I might
 alleage other passages out of the same author, but these will suffice. That they were not of the
 light armed may bee proued by the same places of Arrian. Where they are alwaies distin-
 guished from the archers and Darters. These targets make them vnfit for slingers, and
 mention of slingers I find in other places. The very name sheweth that they carry targetts,
 and the great Etymologicon alloweth them spears beside their targets Whereby they are
 clearly exempted from the light armed to remaineth then, that they be the pelastæ, which
 Alian heere speaketh of, especially since they were armed with target and speare, which
 armes hee giveth to his targetiers, and to no other, except it be to the armed.

13 Cataphracts] The horsemen are diuided into two kinds, Cataphracts' compleat

b Xenophon de re-
 mil. Cyro. lib. 1.
 148 D.

they armed their horses with frontlets and pectorals & covers for their
 thighs. As much hee saith of the six hundred horse that followed Cyrus the younger
 against Artaxerxes, saying they armed over for their thighs. The horsemen themselves
 be girted great Curasses, and cuisses, and head-pieces. So it appeareth that the horse were
 not all over armed, but onely their heads their breasts and their forehigges. Tit Plutarch
 speaking of the Cataphracts in the time of Lucullus, saith, their legges, and shigges were
 unarmed. Concerning the Parthians Suidas, I know not out of what author, hath thus:
 The Curasse of the Parthian horsemen is made in this manner: The part be-
 fore covereth his breast, and thighs, and his hande to the fingers end, and his
 leggs. The hinder part, his backe, and necke, and all his head. There are but-
 tons made for the sides, with which both the parts being fastened, it maketh
 the whole horsemen scene, as if hee were made of iron. The iron neither hin-
 deth the stretching out, nor the gathering vp of his limbs, it is so exactly fit-
 ted to the nature, and life of all parts of the body. Likewise they arme their
 whole horse with iron, except his hooves, because their owne armour would
 little availe, in case their horse miscaried. Cuius describeth the forme in the Per-
 sian horsemen, & horse furniture, hee saith, was made of plate fastened together in
 continued dependances of scales of iron. Appian speaking how the Parthians seeking
 to terrify Crassus, and his army, upon the sudden cast away the covers of their armour,
 and both themselves appeared in shining curasses, and head-pieces the Macedonian iron of
 which they were made: darting forth a flashing, and disappeared withing light, and their
 horses glittering in brassen, and iron furniture. Tit doth Appian in the same place note,
 that the bellies of these horse, was not armed. For the french horsemen, saith hee, that
 followed young Crassus, when they perceived, how little they prevailed with
 their staves against the sure, and unpierceable armour of the Parthians, light-
 ing from their owne, and creeping vnder the Parthian horses, strooke them
 into the bellies, and they impatient of paine and flinging heere, and there, and
 treading vnder foote, as well their riders as their enemies, died in the place.
 Plutarch hath the like. The Cataphracts, besides their armour of defence, had a lance, or
 horsemans staffe, to fight withall. Plutarch affirmes it: Lucullus, saith hee, after
 hee sawe Tigranes his Cataphract horsemen (whose were of most account) de-
 fended, as it were, by a hill, that had the ground aboute plaine, and broad, &
 the ascent (which was about fower furlonges in length) not very hard, or
 steepe, commaunded the Thracian, and gaule horsemen, hee had, to giue vp-
 on the flanke, and to put by the launces with their swords: For the onely
 strength of the Cataphract is his lance, and it alone hee is able to vse either
 in defence of himselfe, or annoying the enimie: being by reason of the weight
 and harshnes of his furniture like a man shutte, and looked vp in a wall. Hether-
 to Plutarch. Like wise the Parthians in Cataphracts, albeit they used bowe, and arrows, yet they
 had also launces. With which likewise came the horsemen to fight.

e Appian in Parth.
 148 D.

f Plutarch in Lucull.
 148 D.

g Plutarch in Lucull.
 148 D.

h Xenophon de re-
 mil. Cyro. lib. 1.
 148 D.

taking in hand their launces, ranne vpon the Romans, whose giuing a iointe
 shewte sprung vp presently, and striking them with their darts, slewe the first,
 and put the rest to flight. By these two testimonies the launce of the Cataphracts is
 clearly proved. In what manner the Cataphracts came to fight, Nazarius (cited by
 Steuechius) sheweth plainly in a Panegyrick of his. The Cataphracts, saith hee,
 in whome was the principall strength of the field, vse this discipline in char-
 ging. After closing their files, they keepe an equalitie in moving forward to
 charge, & being free from wounds, they break without difficulty any strength
 of battell opposed against them. They are made to bee free from wounds, because
 both themselves & horses (especially before) are covered with sure armes. Their moving
 must be slow, because of the weight of their armes, which slownesse was recompensed with
 the violence of their charge, which neither horse, nor foote was able to resist. And yet
 they had another inconvience, in that, being overthrowne, or slipping, or falling to the
 ground, neither horse, nor man, were able easily to raise themselves againe. Such was the
 weight of their armour.

a Appian in
 Parthica 144. A.

14. Launciers are such] Launciers, saith Elian, iointe with the enemy, & fight
 hand to hand with the lance. And did not the Cataphracts so? They did, but their
 armour differed much. The Cataphracts both horse, and man, were all over armed. The
 horse of the Launciers was not armed, and himselfe, albeit hee were armed, yet not so
 armed, but that many parts of his body were bare of armes. And his armour came much
 short of the compleate. Arrian saith that the Macedonians being launciers were not
 able to encounter with the Scythians, whose were Cataphracts, both because of their num-
 ber, and also of their manner of arming. And as the Launciers armour was not so
 heauie, as the compleate, so was it more heauie, then the armour of the foote. Xenophon
 seemeth to signifie so much, telling of himselfe, that taking the targetiers of the
 front, and some out of the midit of the hollow square battaile, and three hun-
 dred chosen men, that Cherisophus had with him in the front, hee marched
 away with all speed to seife vpon the toppe of a certaine hill. And exhorting
 his souldiers to haste, you may well, quoth Sotridas, the Scythian, talke of
 haste, that are on horseback. I, in the meane time with this heauie target, am
 scarce able to marche. Xenophon hearing this, straight dismounted, and dif-
 ranking Sotridas, tooke away his target, and with it on his shoulder conti-
 nued his haft in marching. By chance hee had on at that time a horsemans
 armour, where with although he were overpressed; yet slacke hee nothing of
 his pace. The rest of the souldiers beating and reviling Sotridas compelled
 him both to his target, and place againe. At last they gained the hill, they
 purposed, and made the enimie abandon the nether ground. Xenophon was
 heere overpressed with the horsemans armour. If it had bene but equall in weight with a
 foote mans, hee might, as well haue endured it, as the rest. Plutarch sheweth likewise the

b Xenophon de re-
 mil. Cyro. lib. 1.
 148 D.

c Plutarch in
 Lucull.

The armes, that the Launcier were accustomed by to use, speaking of
 the armes of the Roman horsemen; who writeth thus: The armour of their horsem-
 men is at this day like the Gracian. Of old they had no curaces, but fought
 in short gownes girded to them. By reason whereof they were ready, & active
 to alight from, and gett vp quickly, on their horses. But their fight was daun-
 gerous with the enemy, because they wanted armes. Their istaues had two
 in commodities. For, being made slender and quivering, they neither could
 touche the mark, they aymed at, and most of them, shaken with the motion of
 the horse, fell out to bee broken, before the head touched, or fastened vpon
 any thing. Ioyne, that, having no iron point at the butt end, they serued but
 for one stroke onely, and that at the first. And yet the head being broken of,
 the remnant of the staffe was of noe vse. The targets they had, were made of
 ox-hyde in forme like to cakes named *Popana*, which are vied in sacrifices.
 And they were neither fitte to encounter the enemy, by reason they had noe
 stiffnesse or fastnesse in resistance, and being resolved, and foked, or putrified
 with raine, they could not bee any thing worthe. Finding these inconvenien-
 ces by experience, they quickly chaunged for the Gracian armour; In which
 the first stroke of the head of the staffe is certeyne, and worketh the designed
 effect, by reason of the forme, which is not quivering, but stiffe and furdy: &
 likewise turning foreward the butte end, which is armed with a sharpe point,
 they might therewith fasten a sound, and forcible blowe vpon the enemy. The
 like may be said of the Targets, which both in charging, and defending, haue
 a sure & vnfailable vse. Which they noe sooner saw, then imitated. For the Ro-
 mans, if any other nation, are good to change their fashions, and to choose
 that, which is best, wherefoever they finde it. *The Launcier then had a Curace, a*
head-piece, a lance, and a sword for his armes, and this was generall in Launciers; but some
had besides a target, and were therefore called targetiers. The Launciers were called
in greece Doratophoroi, or Xestophoroi: two severall appellations in shewe, but sig-
nifying in deed but one thing, the one being derived from the master, the other from the
forme of the lance. ¹ *Doru*, as I said before, signifyeth wood: and because all the *Laun-*
ciers armes excepting the lance, were of other matter, then wood, the lance was called
Doru, (of the wood) and the Launciers Doratophoroi. As for Xylton, or Xelton
(for they signify one thing) is commeth of the verbe Xuo, or Xeo to haue, or polish (as
our ioyners doe) and the launciers, being made of wood shaven, or polished, are named Xylta,
or Xelta, of the forme (as I said) that is given them by shaving, and the Launciers, that
bear these lances, Xestophoroi, or Xyltaphoroi. And heere I am once so note for all,
that wee are not to presse wordes according to the proper signification of their primitive,
from whence they are derived. For considering there are more things, then names of things
(as Logicians say) the most copious language, that is, cannot give proper names to all. Heereof
come the wordes of diuers Genui Creationis. And how farre we are from being able to

1 Aristotle
 deeth Xylta and
 Doruab 1. 15. 5.

semeth Acrobolitis by another word flowing from the same fountain.
 17 Tarentines] They are so called of a City in Italy Tarentum by name, the
 inhabitants whereof, that were horsemen, used this manner of fight. But he maketh two
 kinds of Tarentines; one, that ever fought a farre off with darts, and never came to
 hand with the enemy, the other, that after a dart or two cast, came close vp, and fought
 hand to hand. ² *Livy* speaketh of a third kind of Tarentines, who used in fight two
 horses at once made fast together, and one being weary, leaped vpon the back of the
 other.

Liv deca. 4.
 lib. 5. c. 1.

18 Some vse darts a farre off] Of the manner of fight of these horsemen, the pas-
 sage of Xenophon is worth repeating. ³ After these things done, saith hee, the aide
 of Dionysius (which hee sent the Lacedemonians) arrived, being more, then
 twenty Gallies. They brought French, and Spaniards, and about fifty horse.
 The next day the Thebans, and their confederats, embarrailing their ar-
 mie, and filling therewith the whole plaine even to the sea-side, & to the hills,
 that lay about the City (of Corinth) destroyed whatsoever, might serue to
 any vse. The horsemen of the Athenians, and Corinthians, seeing the strength,
 and multitude of the enemy, came not neere vnto them: but the horsemen of
 Dionysius, albeit fewe in number, galloping heere, and there, dispersedly, and
 putting spurs to their horse, charged them with their darts, and in case the
 enemy followed, they returned with all speed, and then turned againe, and
 threw darts afresh. In doing these things they used to alight from their
 horse, and rest themselves, and if any of the enemy singled out to fall vpon
 them, leaping quickly againe to horse-backe, they fled: and being pursued
 any distance from the army, as soone as those that pursued them retired, the
 Tarentines followed, and plyed them with their darts, and put them to great
 distresse: forcing the whole armie to advance, and retire, as they list them-
 selves. So farre Xenophon. Another example I will adde out of *Livy* of the
 Numidians, whose manner of fight is all one with the Tarentine manner. ⁴ In *Ligu-*
ria saith hee, nothing worthy of memorie was done a long time. At the end of
 the yeare all things were brought to extreame hazard. For both the Consuls
 camp, being assaulted, was hardly defended, and not long after, when the ar-
 mie was led through a Forrest, the way whereof was streight, and narrowe,
 the Ligurians possessed themselves of the mouth of the straights. Through
 which when the Consull could find no passage, hee turned about his armie,
 and purposed to reduce it, the way he came. But the mouth of those straights
 was likewise possessed by a part of the enemies forces. And now the remem-
 brance of the Disaster of Caudium presented it self not onely to the minds,
 but even almost to the eyes of euery man. There were wellnigh eight hun-

Xenoph. Hitt.
 lib. 6. c. 17. 8.

Liv deca. 4.
 lib. 5. c. 1.

and a head thrust out at length. They purposely augmenting this contempt
 slid from their horses, and dallied, and sported, to bring the enemy to a gaze.
 Wherefore the enemy, which at first were intenuie, and ready for a charge,
 became gazers on, and the most part vnarmed themselves, & sett downe vpon
 the ground. The Numidians rode vp neerer, and then backe againe, and by
 little, and little, gott to the skirts of the forest; as if their horses, being resty,
 had caried them forward against their wills. At last, putting spurs to, they
 broke through the midst of their enemies gards, & entering into a larger field,
 they sett fire on all the houses next the way; then burned they the next vil-
 lage, and wasted, and filled, all things with fire, and sword. The smoke first
 scene, then the cry of the people affrighted, lastly ould men, and children,
 fleeing for succor, raised a tumult in the campe. Therefore without counsell or
 command every man of himself ranne to the defence of his own; and in a
 moment both the enemies camp was forsaken, & the Confull, delivered from
 his siege, came to the place intended. By these two examples the kinde of fight, that

*these darters one horse-backe maintained, may be perceived, which was not to come neer
 the enemy, but to keep a loose, and lest their darts fly. Besides not to obserue any order
 in files, or ranks, but straglingly to gallop the field, seeking by their disbanding to tolle
 the enemy out of his strength, and so to worke their advantage. And albeit in the
 second example, the Numidians used not their darts, yet they would haue done it, if need
 had bene; and you shall find in other places of Livy, and Polybius, they did vsually, as
 also in Caesar.*

19 After they haue spent one or two] These darters on horsebacke differ from
 the other before mentioned, because at the last they ioyne, and fight hand to hand with the
 enemy; which the other did not. And what fight they wish all: not with launce; for
 then should they be Launciers, of whom wee haue spoken. But they fight with battel-axes,
 swords, and such other short weapons. Suidas affirmeth it, alleged by Arceius:
 These, saith hee, at first cast light darts a farre off, and afterward approaching,
 joyne with the enemy, fighting with battell-axes, or swords; which kind they
 call light-horsemen.

20 The horsemen, that vse bowes] I need not alledge any thing to shewe that
 the Scythians were good archers. It is knowne to any man, that is not ignorant of Hi-
 story. I will onely note, that in fleeing from the enemy, they harmed as much, as in fal-
 ling on. For as they fled they turned half their bodies backward, and shotte at him,
 that followed, and executed noe such thing. Of which silihon of fight Plutarch giueth
 this iudgement. The Parthians, saith hee, in their flight shoote backward, &
 doe it best of all other, except the Scythians; the invention being witty, both
 to save themselves by that defence, and also to take away the shame of flight.

But seeing every Phalange containeth an vniting of bodies, offices of Di-
 rection aswell for daily exercise, or traying, as for true fights, It seemeth neces-
 sary to deduce euery of these things into perticularity. The first labour there-
 fore in the art of attick is for a Generall out of a multitude, that cometh to hand
 confused, to choose the fittest men, and dispose them into convenient places
 (that is to order them into files, and bodies) and of the whole number to pro-
 portion a reasonable levie, & fitting the service in hand. For to dispose and
 enable an Army, skillfully to march, to encampe, & to embattaile, is a matter
 of no small consequence. In asmuch as we often find mightie Armies through
 their disorder to haue been defeated by a handfull of men wel disciplined &
 exercised. Wherefore Aeneas defineth this art to bee a science of warlike motion:
*Polybius, To be a skill whereby a man taking a multitude serviceable or dereth it into files,
 and bodies, and instructeth it sufficiently in all things pertaining to warre.*

Notes.

1 THE first labour] After provision of armour followeth choice of men.
 What men, and out of what climats, and of what profession, and of what age,
 and of what constitution of body, and of what education, are to be chosen, because Elian
 referreth to the discretion of the Generall, not setting downe any particular. I will likewise
 passe over, noting onely some places, where hee, that is disposed to seeke, may finde the cir-
 cumstances of choice of souldiers. Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1. 32. A. B. Polyb. lib. 6. 406. C. Et
 Lips. ad Polyb. lib. 1. Dialogo. 2. 3. 4. 5. Veget. lib. 1. cap. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. Et Steuechius ad
 hoc omnia cap. 31.

2 A reasonable leuy and fitting the service] Leuyes are to be made according
 to the warre, which is vnderaken. The enemy is not alwaies of one strength. Sometimes
 the forces, against which wee are to lead our armie, are more, sometimes lesse. The Ro-
 mans, if the number of enemies were not very great, used but a Consular Armie; which
 consisted of two legions of Romans, and of as many foote of their Allies; when greatest,
 onely ioyned two Consular armies together. And for Allies their foote, as I said, was
 equal with the Roman foote, their horse were treble as many, and the Romans having
 three hundred horse to a Legion, the Allies had nine hundred. Tet in case of great
 necessitie, wee reade, that the number of the Legions was increased in a Consular
 armie. Polybius reporteth that, a little before the battaile of Canne, the Con-
 suls Lucius Aemilius, and C. Terentius, had allowed in their armie, which they led
 against Anniball, eight Legions, which never was done before. Alexander

See Liv. lib. 1. 218

2. Polyb. lib. 1. 357.

3. Polyb. lib. 1. 357.

4. Polyb. lib. 1. 357.

5. Polyb. lib. 1. 357.

6. Polyb. lib. 1. 357.

7. Polyb. lib. 1. 357.

8. Polyb. lib. 1. 357.

9. Polyb. lib. 1. 357.

10. Polyb. lib. 1. 357.

11. Polyb. lib. 1. 357.

12. Polyb. lib. 1. 357.

were, the principall heads of the art of warre, Marching, Incamping, and embattailing; to which heads aliother may very well bee referred. And of these three Alian handlets in this treatise but two, namely embattailing, and marching: of embattailing, so much, as pertaineth to forming of a common Macedonian Phalange; of Marching, no more, then belongeth to embattailing in a march, that is to ordering of your men in that figure, which shall yeald most advantage against the enemy, that meeteth you; excepting that hee shortly toucheth the marshalling of baggage in your marche. The other considerations of marching, as laying, or avoyding ambulches, lending out to discover, when to march by night, when by day, how to deceiue and avoyde the enemy by eng neere, remedies against horse, against shotte, against multitudes, passages of mountaines, of woods, of rivers, of plains, of drye, and sandy places, these, I say, and such like, hee toucheth not in a word. And for the skill of encamping, which comprehendeth the seating of your camp, and provision of all things belonging thereto, as also the siege, and defence of Citties, and fortresses, hee likewise passeth it over with silence, as a thing not incident to his purposed discourse.

4 A handfull of men well disciplined and exercised] What exercise doth for the making of good souldiers, experience of former times will teach. It hath been the manner of all famous generalls to bring their souldiers to perfection by exercise. Vegetius saith very well, It is not length of life, or number of yeares, that teacheth the art of warre, but continuall discipline & meditation of armes. Let a souldier serue never so many years, so long, as hee is vnexercised, hee shall bee still a raw souldier. The knowledge and science of armes maketh a souldier, which is not gaigned but by action. As long as a souldier handleth not his weapons, hee is noe Actor, but a looker on. For as all abilities in artes (which are called Habits) arise out of a number of actions preceading, so can noe man attayne to a perfect knowledge of armes, till hee haue with care, and diligence, employed his study and labour therein, and vpon the foundation of practise raised the frame of sound and perfect skill. Noe man is naturally borne a souldier. One may more incline to warre then another, but the skill commeth not without industry and paines. Plutarch saith, that it is neither Eurotas nor the place betwixt Babyx and Gnacion, that bringeth forth valiant and warlike men, but they are to bee found in all places, where youth is bred vp in shame of vice, and boldnesse to vndergoe perill for vertues sake. Eurotas was a river

neere Lacedemon; e Babyx and Gnacion two rivers with in the same City. The Lacedemonians were accounted the most valiant people of Greece. And Plutarch speaketh thus of the victory, which the Thebans had against the Lacedemonians; The Thebans, which till that day had noe reputation of valour; but afterward by exercise, & use of armes, vnder Epaminondas, and Pelopidas, became the bravest souldiers of Greece: Not vnlike was the scienc of Pyrrhus to his muster-master, choole you souldiers.

How for the exercises, what manner of discipline, and what manner of instruction hee used, against a multitude vnskillfull, and vnrained, I need, say nothing. Histories are plentifull with such therein. I will onely recite one example wherein the difference may bee seene not between skillfull, and vnskillfull, but between skillfull, and skillfull both enured to labour, and both brought vp vnder the same practise, and discipline of Armes. At what time, after the death of Alexander the great, his chiefeest Commanders fell at oddes emongest themselves; and fought every man to establish himself in the possession of his Conquests, it chanced, that Antigonus, and Eumenes came together in two sundry battailes. In the first Antigonus had in his army about 28000. foote, 1500. horse, & 65. Elephants; Eumenes lesse foote, 17000. in all (but emongest them 3000. Argyraspides, whoe had served in all Alexanders battailes, & were invincible, & strook a great feare into the enemies hart) & about the number of horse, his enemy had, & 20. Elephants. When the foote came to ioine, saith Diodorus Siculus, the fight continued a good while, & at last, many falling on either side, Eumenes his foote had the better by reason of the valour of the Macedonian Argyraspides. They, albeit they were stroken in years, yet in regard of the manifold perills, they had been in, excelled in courage, & skill of fight; in so much that no man was able to withstand them. And therefore being but 3000. in number, they were notwithstanding sett against the enemy, as the strength of the whole army. In the other battaile he speaketh of their age. At that time, saith he, the yongest of the Argyraspides were noe lesse, then 60. yeares olde, or thereabout; the most of the rest about 70. & some were elder, al of the vnmatcheable in skill & readinesse of fight, & strength of body; such was their dexterity, and courage gathered in continuance of dangers, which they had passed. Afterward rehearsing the battaile, he saith: The Argyraspides ferring themselves close, and with liuely force falling vpon the enemy, killed some, and put other some to flight. And fought against the whole Phalange of the enemy with irresistible fury, not loosing one of their owne men, & yet through skill & manhood slaying of the enemy about 5000. & routed their whole foote, which in number were many times more, then themselves. Thus writeth Diodorus Siculus of the olde practised Macedonians: who yet fought not against straungers, or rare souldiers, or such, as were newly brought into the field, but against men of their owne nation, that had long handled armes, & wonne many victories, & been instructed, and trained in the same discipline and course military, that they themselves had been before: Such difference long practise, and experience wrought in the one against the other.

What a file, or Decury is, and of how many

a Diodor. Sicul.
lib. 19. 6. 7.

b Diodor. Sicul.
lib. 19. 6. 7.

c Veget. lib. 1. c. 24.

¶ Plu. in Ptole.

¶ Plu. in Lyc.

were, the principall heads of the art of warre, Marching, Incamping, and embattailing; to which heads all other may very well bee referred. And of these three Alian handlets in this treatise but two, namely embattailing, and marching: of embattailing, so much, as pertaineth to forming of a common Macedonian Phalange; of Marching, no more, then belongeth to embattailing in a march, that is to ordering of your men in that figure, which shall yeeld most advantage against the enemy, that meeteth you; excepting that hee shortly toucheth the marshalling of baggage in your marche. The other considerations of marching, as laying, or avoyding ambushes, sending out to discover, when to march by night, when by day, how to deceiue and avoyde the enemy by engeneers, remedies against horse, against shotte, against multitudes, passages of mountaines, of woods, of rivers, of plaines, of drye, and sandy places, these, I say, and such like, hee toucheth not in a word. And for the skill of encamping, which comprehendeth the seating of your camp, and provision of all things belonging thereto, as also the siege, and defence of Citties, and fortresses, hee likewise passeth it over with silence, as a thing not incident to his purposed discourse.

4 A handfull of men well disciplined and exercised] What exercise doth for the making of good souldiers, experience of former times will teache. It hath been the manner of all famous generalls to bring theire souldiers to perfection by exercise. Vegetius saith very well, It is not length of life, or number of yeares, that teacheth the art of warre, but continuall discipline & meditation of armes. Let a souldier serue never so many yeares, so long, as hee is vnexercised, hee shall bee still a raw souldier. The knowledge and science of armes maketh a souldier, which is not gaine by action. As long as a souldier handleth not his weapons, hee is not an Actor, but a looker on. For as all abilities in artes (which are called Habits) arise out of a number of actions preceading, so can noe man attayne to a perfect knowledge of armes, till hee haue with care, and diligence, employed his study and labour therein, and upon the foundation of practise raised the frame of sound and perfect skill. Noe man is naturally borne a souldier. One may more incline to warre then another, but the skill commeth not without industry and paines. ^a Plutarch saith, that it is neither Eurotas nor the place betwixt Babyx and Gnacion, that bringeth forth valiant and warlike men, but they are to bee found in all places, where youth is bred vp in shame of vice, and boldnesse to vndergoe perill for vertues sake. Eurotas was a river

^b Plutarch in Lycia, neere Lacedemon; ^c Babyx and Gnacion two rivers with in the same City. The Lacedemonians were accounted the most valiant people of Greece. And Plutarch speaketh thus of the victory, which the Thebans had against the Lacedemonians; The Thebans, which till that day had noe reputation of valour, but afterward by exercise, & use of armes, vnder Epaminondas, and Pelopidas, became the bravest souldiers of Greece: Not unlike was the science of Pericles to his master, as was the personage of Cincinnatus

now for the exercise; and now for the practise, and now for the skillfull, and vntrained, I need, say nothing. Histories are plentifull witnesses therein. I will onely recite one example wherein the difference may bee seene not between skillfull, and vnskillfull, but between skillfull, and skillfull both enured to labour, and both brought vp vnder the same practise, and discipline of Armes. At what time, after the death of Alexander the great, his chiefeest Commanders fell at odds emongst themselves, and fought every man to establish himself in the possession of his Conquests, it chanced, that Antigonus, and Eumenes came together in two sundry battailes. In the first Antigonus had in his army about 28000. foote, 8500. horse, & 65. Elephants; Eumenes lesse foote, 17000. in all (but emongst them 3000. Argyraspides, whoe had served in all Alexanders battailes, & were invincible, & strook a great feare into the enemies hearts) & about the number of horse, his enemy had, & 20. Elephants. When the foote came to ioyne, saith Diodorus Siculus, the fight continued a good while, & at last, many falling on either side, Eumenes his foote had the better by reason of the valour of the Macedonian Argyraspides. They, albeit they were broken in yeares, yet in regard of the manifold perills, they had been in, excelled in courage, & skill of fight, in so much that no man was able to withstand them, And therefore being but 3000. in number, they were notwithstanding sett against the enemy, as the strength of the whole army. In the other battaile he speaketh of their age. At that time, saith he, the yongest of the Argyraspides were noe lesse, then 60. yeares olde, or thereabout; the most of the rest about 70. & some were elder, al of the vnmatcheable in skill & readinesse of fight, & strength of body; such was theire dexterity, and courage gathered in continuance of dangers, which they had passed. Afterward rehearsing the battaile, he saith: The Argyraspides ferring themselves close, and with liuely force falling vpon the enemy, killed some, and put other some to flight. And fought against the whole Phalange of the enemy with irreistible fury, not loosing one of theire owne men, & yet through skill & manhood slaying of the enemy about 5000. & routed theire whole foote, which in number were many times more, then themselves. Thus writeth Diodorus Siculus of the olde practised Macedonians: who yet fought not against strangers, or rauen souldiers, or such, as were newly brought into the field, but against men of theire owne nation, that had long handled armes, & wonne many victories, & been instituted, and trained in the same discipline and course military, that they themselves had been before: Such difference long practise, and experience wrought in the one against the other.

^a Diodor. Sicul. lib. 19. 6. 7.

^b Diodor. Sicul. lib. 19. 6. 7.

The number of a file is diversly given, * for some allow it eight, some twelue, and some sixteen men. Wee for this time will retain the number of sixteen, both because that number is proportionable to the indifferent length of a Phalange, and also, if we require at any time to double the depth thereof, and to giue it thirty two men, or to lessen, and contract it, and make it but eight; neither of both shall hinder the service of the light-armed behinde, * for whether they vse Darts, or slings, or Arrows, they may caslie with their sleng weapons overteache the depth of the Phalange.

Notes.

Next after arming, and choyce of souldiers, it followeth to put them in order for service, that is first to file them, then to band them (which is iynning of fites) and lastly to combataile them, which is to make a Phalange. Of these in the following chapters.

To make files] The Tactics have not expressed the precepts of this arte all in the same wordes. A file is heere called Lochos, the signification whereof is divers. Sometimes it is taken for an Ambush, and Lochan signifieth to lye in ambush: it signifieth beside a number of men, that are of one body, as it were, and under one commander, who is called Lochagos, and Lochizo isto sit in files. The number of this body hath beene diversly taken. The Thebans Lochos Hieros first instituted by Gorgidas, or as other say by Epaminondas, consisted of three hundred men. The Lochos of the Lacedemonians of five hundred and twelue. Xenophon in his returne out of Persia telleth, that the number of the Lochoi of the Gracians, which hee leade, was almost a hundred armed men. And when they chose extraordinarie men to preserve the Plæsum (a hollow forme of square battaile where in the Gracians marched) from breaking, they appointed six Lochoi, of a hundred a piece, for that purpose, and Commanders to leade them. And after heere cometh seventy men to a Lochos. And in the first booke of Cyrus his expedition, hee telleth of two Lochoi of the armed of the Regiment of Athenan, that were slaine by the inhabitants of Cilicia, and counted them a hundred men. Cyrus in the same Xenophon commandeth his Lochos to be made of twenty foure men. But the Lochos, that Alian heere speaketh of is a lesse number, namely sixteen, which was the file of the Macedonians, as appeareth by Arrian, and Polybius. Albeit Arrian calleth it not Lochos, but Decas, and Polybius the depth of the battaile. This number of sixteen was used by the Gracians also before King Phippits time, as appeareth by Xenophon in his historie of the Gracians. And likewise by Thucydides, who reporteth, that the Siracusans were so ordered against the Athenians. Leo saith it was the manner of the auncient warriers to make a file of sixteen, or call it a Tetragonall number.

2 Some allow it eight, some twelue] The Lacedemonians made the depth of their battaile sometimes eight men (for a file is it, that measureth the depth of the battaile) and so fought with their enemies. * Thucydides witnesseth as much: the Lacedemonians, saith hee, were not alwaies ordered in depth alike, but as their Lochagoi (they were commanders of five hundred and twelue a piece) thought good, commonly notwithstanding the depth was of eight a piece. * Xenophon also writeth, that Dercyllidas the Lacedemonian, being to fight with Tissaphernes, and Parnabazus, ordered his Phalange into eight. The same proportion was belde by Anaspissus the Lacedemonian against the Corcyrans, and

and by Clearchus the Lacedemonian against his enemies. Xenophon saith, that Thrasibulus the Athenian, sailing out of Pyraum against Pausanias the Lacedemonian King, ranged his men into eight. His wordes are: * When Thrasibulus and the other armed sawe these things, they quickly gave aide to their owne people, and put their armed in order eight deepe. Pausanias being hardly layed vnto, and retiring foure or five furlongs, commaunded the Lacedemonians, and their Allies, to resort vnto him, and there casting his men into a deepe Phalange, ledde against the Athenians. Out of which wordes we may note, that the Lacedemonians observed not alwaies that order of eight deepe, but varied according to place, or other circumstance. Yet ordinarily they gaue but eight to a file, or to the depth of their Phalange, as Thucydides witnesseth before. * The same Thrasibulus with his complies entering the base City of Athens called Pyraum to free his countrie from bondage of the thirty tyrants, having but a fewe with him, possessed the court, which led to the temple of Diana, called Munychia, and being assaulted by the garrison of the Lacedemonians, ordered his armed men into ten deepe, and the light armed behinde them. The tyrants, and their followers stood in battaile fifty deepe. * As the battaile of Leuttra the Lacedemonian armed were twelue in depth, the Thebans fifty. * Alexander the great leading his armie against Clitus, and Glaucias, the way being so narrow, that no more then foure might marche in front, made the depth of his armie a hundred and twenty. * And the souldiers that Xenophon brought backe out of Persia, when they purposed to sacke Byzantium, put themselves without commaunde in order of fifty deepe. In the text is fifty deepe, but the margens hath eight: which I take to bee the truer reading, because Xenophon saith, the place was faire to set a battaile, being void of building, and having an even plaine. And it was not the manner of the Gracians to make a Phalange fifty deepe, vntill there were extraordinary occasion. * In the battaile of Delos betwixt the Athenians, and Thebans, the Thebans were five and twenty in depth, the Athenians but eight. The same Athenians were eight in depth against the Siracusans. So that the depth of eight was much used among the Gracians. How be it I find not, that they called a file of eight by the name of Lochos. * Cyrus the elder made his files of twelue men, and the leader thereof hee called *ἡνδοκίον*, and *ἡνδοκίον*, and the file is selfe decas, which in signification albeit it is importen, yet wee must retain the word, as it is used, and not fly to the original of the Etimologie, as I noted before vpon other occasion. But Alian maketh his file of sixteen. His reason followeth.

3 For whether they vse darts &c.] The file being sixteen in number, the souldiers therein every one having after distance from other three foote, take vp in the whole depth forty eight foote, and being doubled to thirty two men, they take vp ninety six foote, which amounteth to thirty two yards. That bowes and slings caslie out reache this distance, appeareth by Vegetius, before by mee alleged, * who saith, they stroke their marke six hundred foote of, which in our accounts by scores, is ten score. Of the darts a man may rather doubt, which notwithstanding with an exercised arme is sent much further, then thirty two yards. * Lipsius writeth, that a dart was usually cast foure hundred foote, which amounteth to a hundred thirty three yards, or as wee in shoing measure it, six score and odd. The reason why Alian placed the light armed be hind wee shall see beere after in first place.

The Tactics

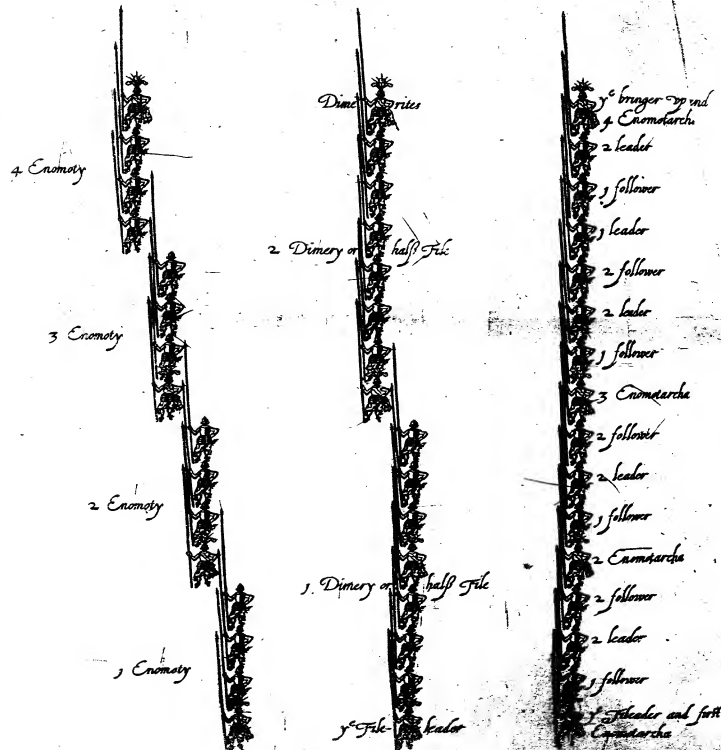
The order and parts of a file or Decury.

CHAP. V.

THE best man of every file is the first in place, and hee, that leadeth the file, who is also called the *file-leader*, the *Commander*, & the *fore-stander*. The last man of the file is called the *Rear-Commander*, or *bringer-up*. The whole file it self is termed *a verse*, and *a Decury*, and of some *an Enemy*. Yet there are, that hold *Enomotia* for the fourth part of a file, and the Commander of an *Enemy* they call *Enomotarcha*, and two *Enomoties* they take for a *Dimery*, & name the Commander thereof *Dimerites*, so that the half file is said to be a *Dimery*,¹ and the Commander *Dimerites*. This man is the last of the file. Hee, that standeth next behinde the file-leader, is named a *follower*, and the next after him a *Leader*, and the next after him againe a *follower*. So that the whole file consisteth of *Leaders*, & *followers* placed successiuely one after another. * It becometh the file-leader to be more sufficient, then the rest of the file, and next him the *Leader* of the half-file, or *bringer-up*. They define a file to be a *Rove* of followers placed according to their worth successiuely after a file-leader.

Notes.

THE best man of every file.] Why the file-leader ought to be the best man of the file many reasons may be given first because hee commandeth the rest. And as in all other things hee that is to rule, and governe another, ought to have more knowledge, then hee that is commanded, and governed, so is it in matter of warre. Further, as his skill, so his valour, ought to be most: that his example may encourage and incite the rest. Which is the cause, that other commanders also are placed in front, and in the eye of the souldiers that their valour & forwardnes may breed an honest emulation in the souldiers to doe, as they doe. Besides, the first place is most becoming him, that best deserves, and the more valiant a man is, the more hee desireth to shewe it in the face of the enemy, thereby to winne himself honor, and reputation. Further more, hee may doe best service in the front, by entering into the enemies battaile, and making way for the rest. Not unlike a sword, whose edge maketh speed passage into the thing, it cutteth, and draweth after it the rest of the iron, be it never so blunt. In the front, the ranks of the file leaders give the push to gaine the field. Which reason I thinke lead^a Gorgidas the first institutor of the Theban Hieros Lochos, not to make an entire troupe thereof apart, but to place it man by man in the first ranke of the Phalange. Lastly the fight of the file leaders, being the choice of the armie, both for stature, and resolution (for so *Alban* would have them)^b breeds a terror in the minds of the enemy. Who, seeing such gallants in the front, haue cause to imagine that the rest of the armie, which they see not, is like to shew they see. And, being never so valiant, they had rather haue to doe with weak, and relenting then stout, and resolute adversaries. As at the battaile of Cenna^c a *Armenian* or *Armenian*, that brought him newes, that the *Consull* had commanded the horse men to alight, and fight on foot, how much rather would I, quoth hee, hee had delivered them bound into my hands. I haue heard many hold opinion, that the manner of the *Gracians*, to bring their best men first to fight, is contra-

Cap. 3
The ordering of a File

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ry to the institution of the Romans, who held the *Triarij* (theire eldest, and best souldiers) in the rear, and brought them not to ioyne, till both the *Hastati*, and *Principes* were beaten, or retired. But if wee consider the diuersity of both theire embattailings, wee shall see not great difference, or at least wee shall see, that the reason of placing their best men was not much different. The *Gracians* in framing theire four-fold *Phalange* made in length an even front of a 2024. files. The files were 16. deepe. and the best men were in front, because being placed in the midit, or in the reare, there would haue bene no oyst of theire valour, and the *Phalange* might haue bene broken, before it had come to theire turnes to fight. The Romans contrary-wise, in ordering a Legion, made many maniples, and gaue the front to the *Hastati*, the midit to the *Principes*, the reare to the *Triarij*. Nowe the *Triarij* being ordered in the Reare, might at the beginning bee brought to fight in Front, if need were; being not need, they kept their place, till their Generalls found it fit to call vpon them. So then this is the difference. The File-leaders of the *Gracians* had the Front, because otherwise in so deep a body, as the *Phalange* was, they could not haue come to fight: The *Triarij* might alwayes haue bene employed in Front, in flanke, or in the reare, as pleased the Generall. And that the Romans also in theire severall Maniples placed theire best men in Front, I cannot doubt. There stood the *Centurions*, which were the leaders of the Maniples, and in reason were to bee seconded with the best men under theire command. ^a C. Crassus may serue for an example whose being noe *Centurio*, but an *Evocate*, in the battaile of *Pharsaly* betwixt *Cesar* & *Pompey*, bidde his Maniples (they were of the Maniple, which hee once commanded) to followe him, and said hee would make his Generall giue him thanks aliue, or dead. Yet must I confesse, that the front was not the proper place of the *Evocates*. But hee chose the front, and held it a place worthy of his valour. It is said of ^b *Cassius* that, when hee fought with *C. Antonius*, hee placed in the front of his army, all the chosen *Centurions*, and *Evocates*, and besides of common souldiers such, as were best armed. ^c *Livy* speaking of a fight betwixt the Romans, and the *Latines*, and describing the forme of the Roman battaile, after hee had limited the place of the *Hastati*, & *Principes*, writeth thus of the *Triarij*. After the ensignes (hee meaneth the Standards of the Legions) not the *Ensignes* of Maniples, were ten other Maniples; whereof every one had three *Ensignes*. The first Ensigne led the *Triarij*,ould souldiers of tried valor, the next the *Rorarij*, not soe well esteemed for strength in either age, or deeds, the third the *Accensi*, a troupe of left trust, which was the cause, that they were cast in the reare. The *Accensi* were put in the reare, because there was noe great opinion of theire valor; the *Triarij* had the front, because they wereould souldiers, and had bene sufficiently tried. Soe then in dividing of their armie into small bodies, or battalions, the Romans differed from the *Gracians*: in placing the best men of theire maniples in front, they observed the same manner, that the *Gracians* did in placing theire file-leaders in the first ranke of the *Phalange*.

2 Avertic] I have translated *Richos* a verse. The more vsuall signification is a some of any thing placed orderly. ^d Soe *Xenophon* applyeth it to trees, which were planted orderly one after another; and ^e *Eustathius* to the standing of dauncers one after another in a d'rib even as our souldiers are placed one after another in file. ^f *Julius Pollux* also acknowledgeth, that there were files, and ranks in Choro, that is in daunces vpon the stage. ^g But *Suidas* saith it was commonly taken for a line, which was read from the left to right hand. And to say the truth a verse, as wee read at this day, and as they read, when *Ælian* wrote this treatise, rather resembleth a ranke then a file; because in a ranke men stand side to side, as words doe being placed in a line. Yet because the word is received by use in that other sense, wee must like wise admitte the same.

a Cesar de bell
civil lib. 1.

b Sallust de coni
sur. Caesare.

c Livius de decad. 2
lib. 4. pag. 114. d.

d Xenop. in Oxi
drom. d. 10. C.

e Eustath. in illud
Iul. Pollux lib.
4. cap. 10.

f Suidas in versu
no. 1190.

3. A decury] This in Greeke *Alían* calleth Decania, a word, which in this sense I find in no other Author, then in him, and in Suidas. Xenophon calleth it Decas: for death *Præcibus* and *Arrian*, and likewise *Hefychius*. ^a Leo calleth it decarchian and Aikian.

4. An Enomotie] The word cometh from *onymi* to swear, not of *omos* a shoulder, as *Robortellus*, and *Patricius* imagine; of whom the first translated it in Latine *Intercurtio*, the other in Italian *Spallagione*, as it were a backing; upon this conceit, I thinke, because in a file the whole number standeth one at the backe of another. ^a Suidas saith: Enomotia is a body militarie amongst the Lacedemonians of 32 men, and is so called, because they take theire othe together, not to forsake the place assigned them in battaile. With whom agreeth the great *Etymologicus*; and *Hefychius* likewise: who termeth it a body militarie, that taketh an othe and sweareth by the sacrifice, which is offered at such time, as they goe into the field. And surely you shall not finde the word Enomotia applied to other souldiers, then the Lacedemonians, or else to them, that the Lacedemonians commanded: untill it was afterward taken up by the Macedonians.

And ^b Julius Pollux expressly noteth, that Moira, and Enomotia, are proper appellations of the Lacedemonians: given to certaine of theire militarie bodies. Albeit both the text bee corrupted in Pollux, having Enomotia for Enomotia; & the interpreter hath worse translated it, reading Enomotia, militarie discipline, & Moira a duty. As the *Lochos* is great, or little, so is the Enomotia. The Lacedemonian Enomotia was 32 men, the *Lochos* being 12. but the file of *Alían* being 16. and the Enomotie noe more, then the fourth part of a file: the Enomotie must containe noe more then foure men. One of every of these foure must bee a commander; who is called Enomotarcha, or the commander of that Enomotie. So that in the whole file, consisting of 16. there ought to bee foure Enomotarchas. Where they should stand in the file, is a question. *Patricius* maketh the file-leader the first Enomotarcha, the fifth man, the second, the ninth man, the third, & the 13 man the fourth, excluding the bringer up, whom notwithstanding hee acknowledgeth to bee the second man of the file, and in dignitie next to the file-leader. I am of another opinion, and yet allowe the places of the first, fifth, and ninth, but thinke the bringer-up ought to bee the last Enomotarcha: ^c *Arrian* confirmeth my opinion; who writeth thus: Alexander returning to Babylon, found *Prucestes* newly come out of Persia, bringing with him 20000. Persians. Then commending the Persians for theire obedience in all things to *Prucestes*, and *Prucestes* for his care, and diligence, in ordering them, hee reparted them into bands according to the Macedonian manner. Over every file hee appointed a Macedonian file-leader to command, and next a Macedonian dimerite, and a Decastater, so called of the paye hee had, which was lesse then *Dimerites*, and more then the common souldiers; then twelue Persians, and last of all the file a Macedonian, who also was a Decastater. So that in the whole file there were foure Macedonians, three, whose pay was more, then the common souldiers, and a file-leader the fourth, and more over 12. Persians. So *Arrian*, Out of which wordes we may learne first the number of the Macedonian file, which consisted of 12. Persians, and 4. Macedonians, in all 16. the number, that *Alían* requireth in his file.

Next, that the Enomotarchs, or commanders of the foure parts of the file, were likewise 4. Lastly that the bringer-up was one of the foure by expresse words of *Arrian*, which is contrarie to the opinion of *Patricius*, and whereas *Arrian* termeth the third Enomotarch. Decastateros of the pay, hee receiveth it, to be under stand, that Stater was a piece of coine, of the weight of foure dragmes of Athens whereof the Enomotarch

^a Xenop. Cyrop.
^b Etymologicus
magis in frasi.
^c A. canalic. 7.
164. C.
^d Leo cap. 4.
et 59.

^a Patricius parallel.
milit. part. 14. 173.
^b part 3. 156.
^c Suidas in Etym.
milit.

^f Etymolog.
magis in Etym.
milit. in Etym.
milit.

^b I. I. Pollux lib.
1. cap. 104.

ⁱ Arrian. 17. 164. C.

Enomotarch had ten by the month. The dragne was of value seven pence sterling, and the Stater, conveying foure dragmes, two shillings and foure pence sterling; and ten of them were valued at twenty three shillings and foure pence. Which was the pay of the second Enomotarch, and of the bringer-up, as *Arrian* affirmeth.

5. And the Commaunder *Dimerites*] About the *Dimerite* *Arrian*, and *Alían*, differ. *Suidas* leaveth the matter uncertaine, saying the *Dimerite* is commander of the half-file, but pointeth not out, which is hee. *Arrian* distinguisheth the *Dimerite* from the bringer-up, and giveth a greater pay to the *Dimerite*, then to the bringer-up. The bringer-up, he saith, was noe more then Decastateros, whereas the *Dimerite* had a greater pay. But *Alían* twice in this chapter affirmeth, that the bringer-up was the *Dimerite*, and addeth hee ought to bee the second man of worth in the file. And that the place of the reare is not much inferior to the front. ^a *Cyrus* testifies his bringers-up in *Xenophon* in these words: You have a place saith hee no lesse honorable, then they, that stand in front. For being in the reare, and seeing valiant, and the remisse and backward you incite, & spurre on, likewise to doe as well, as the rest. ^b *Leo* appointeth two Officers to a file, the file-leader, and the bringer-up, & so maketh the bringer-up the second person of the file. There being then the second place of the file, I conceive no reason, why, as the file-leader commandeth the one halfe of the file, so the bringer-up should not bee the *Dimerite*, and command the other; and I rather assent to *Alían*, that of purpose describeth the particulars of his arte, as hee findeth them set downe in the ancient *Tactics*, then to *Arrian*, that writing the historie of the deede of Alexander, stumbleth by chance upon these things not greatly incident to his narration. Yet may there bee a reasonable construction of both their meanings, if wee consider the severall respects of the offices of these Enomotarchs.

For the middlemost Enomotarch may bee termed the *Dimerite* in regard hee standeth in the head of the second half-file, and in doubling the front and some other motions leadeth it: the bringer-up because hee absolutely governeth it, and seeth that directions, given by higher officers, bee executed.

6. It behoveth that the file-leader bee more sufficient] The file-leader and bringers-up ought to bee the most sufficient, because they haue the whole government of the file, the one in the front, the other in the reare. These are under them, and so be called by the names of leaders, and followers. But yet is there a further disposition of the file, which, as I finde it in ^c *Leo*, I will set downe. His word is found thus: over the sixteen you are to appoint a file-leader (as hee is termed) resolute, and fit for service, and eight of these sixteen, that shall bee found fittest, you shall place in the front, and reare, of the file, foure in the front, namely in the first, second, third, and fourth place, other foure in the reare, in the sixteenth, fifteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth place, that the front and reare may be strengthened with foure men a piece. The weaker are to be placed in the middle of the file. This counsell, or rather precept, of *Leo* hath this reason. The front, and the reare, are the principall places the enemy commonly giveth upon. The front wee alwaies turne against the enemy, if we can. The reare the enemy seeketh to attache, and by it to discomfit us, if wee can. The flanks for the most part are secured by the horse, and light armed. For *Leo* placeth the light armed, and horse in the flanks. See these two places, being most subject to the violence of the enemy, require extraordinary care, and assistance. As for the weak, which are in the midst, they never come to strike stroke, but after the front, and reare, are broken. ^d In another place hee writeth to this effect: your Contubernia (the souldiers that cabin together) you shall order according to foure men, or to ten, or to foure,

^a *Xenop. Cyrop.*
lib. 1. ca. 10.

^b *Leo. cap. 4. §.*
71. 2.

^c *Leo. ca. 4. §. 40.*

^d *Leo. ca. 4. §. 46.*

or to eight, or to sixteen, as you shall find most convenient, that being bound one to another with mutual acquaintance, they may fight one for another in batraile and bee more valiant against the enemy. But you shall doe more wisely, if when you are to joyne, you place brothers by brothers, & friends by friends. For when hee, that fighteth, hath an entirely beloved friend standing next behind him, hee must of necessity haue himselfe with more earnestnesse for his friends sake. And the other being ashamed not to requite one, that sustaines such danger in his behalfe, will hardly bee brought to forsake his friend so well deseruing, and first betake himselfe to his feete. *The same is the aduise of Onofander, and was much practised in auncient time. The Lochos Hieros, or Holy-band, of the Thebans (whereof I spake before) consisted all of friends, that had bound themselves one to another in friendship. With this Holy-band Pelopidas gaue the first disgracefull overthrow to the Lacedaemonians, that ever they had. Of this band Plutarch writeth, that it was neuer beaten untill the battaile of Cheronæa, when Philip the father of Alexander vanquished the Athenian, and Theban forces both together. After which battaile Philip surueyng the dead bodies, and conning to the place, where these three hundred lay, all close mingled one with another, and strooken through with the Macedonian pikes, hee wondered greatly, and hearing that it was the band of louers, and beloued, wept, and said, evilly may they perish, that suspect any filthines in deede, or suffering, to haue been practised amongst such men. Cyrus the elder had his Homotimos nourished up together, and Alexander his Hetairios, whose extraordinary service appeared in all their battailes.* *Diodorus Siculus writeth of Sesoosis the Egyptian King to this effect: at the birth of Sesoosis his father did a magnificent and royall deede. For gathering together all the children of Ægypt, that were borne the same day, and setting over them some to nourish and governe them, hee gaue the same education, and institution, to them all, conceiving that they, that were brought vp together, & partakers of the same liberty, would become the best affected, and most assured fellow helpers in warre. This was the iudgement of Atyris, the father of Sesoosis, King of Ægypt, in providing assured assistance to his sonne for the conquering of the whole world, which by certaine blinde prophecies was promised him. Now what little trust there is to bee given to men, that are not acquainted one with another, Pompey that great Capitaine of the Romans sheweth in his epistle to Domitius: For men, saith hee, are not quickly to be assembled hether by musters, and if wee had them, you are not ignorant how much they may be relyed vpon, being vnacquainted to fight against ould Legions. Tet hath Leo another mixture in his files. For hee would haue the ould, and new souldiers put together in one file. Least saith hee, the ould being by themselves alone, proue weak, and of small force, and the yong disorderly, having little experience. For the one, albeit ould, yet are well acquainted with service, the other albeit yong, and valiant, yet are vnskillfull.*

For the Enomoties, dimerie, and file, see the figure.

Joyning of Files.

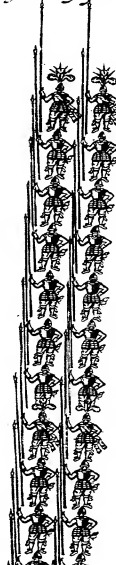
CHAP. VI.

I Joyning of Files, is when one file is layed flank-wise to another, the Leader of the second file to the Leader of the first, and the follower of the second File-leader to the follower of the first, and so the rest. Every man that ranketh

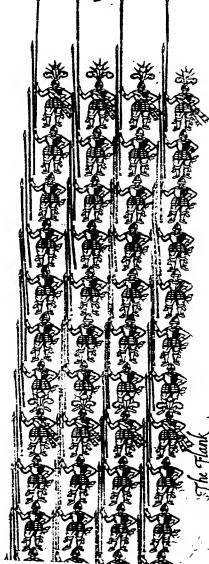
is

1st File

2 Files Joyned



4 Files Joyned



or to eight, or to sixteen, as you shall find most convenient, that being bound one to another with mutuall acquaintance, they may fight one for another in battaile and bee more valiant against the enemy. But you shall doe more wisely, if when you are to joyne, you place brothers by brothers, & friends by friends. For when hee, that fighteth, hath an entirely beloved friend standing next behind him, hee must of necessity hazard himself with more egerneesse for his friends sake. And the other being afraied not to requite one, that sustaines such danger in his behalfe, will hardly bee brought to forsake his friend so well deservuing, and first betake himselfe to his feete. *The same is the advise of Onofander, and was much practised in ancient time. The Lochos Hieros, or Holy-band, of the Thebans (whereof I spake before) consisted all of friends, that had bound themselves one to another in friendship. With this Holy-band, Pelopidas gave the first disgracefull overthrow to the Lacedaemonians, that ever they had. Of this band, Plutarch writeth, that it was never beaten untill the battaile of Cheronæa, when Philip the father of Alexander vanquisheth the Athenian, and Theban forces both together.* After which battaile Philip surueyng the dead bodies, and coming to the place, where these three hundred lay, all close mingled one with another, and trooken through with the Macedonian pikes, hee wondered greatly, and hearing that it was the band of louers, and beloued, wept, and said, evilly may they perish, that suspect any fithines in deede, or suffering, to haue been practised amongst such men. *Cyrus the elder had his Homotimos nourished up together, and Alexander his Hetaitos, whose extraordinary service appeared in all their battailes.* *Diodorus Siculus writeth of Sesoosis the Egyptian King to this effect: at the birth of Sesoosis his father did a magnificent and royall deed. For gathering together all the children of Egypt, that were borne the same day, and setting over them some to nourish and governe them, hee gaue the same education, and institution, to them all, conceiving that they, that were brought vp together, & partakers of the same liberty, would become the best affected, and most assured fellow helpers in warre. This was the iudgement of Aturia, the father of Sesoosis, King of Egypt, in providing assured assistance to his sonne for the conquering of the whole world, which by certaine kinde prophecies was promised him. Now what little trust there is to bee given to men, that are not acquainted one with another, Pompey that great Capitaine of the Romans sheweth in his epistle to Domitius: For men, saith hee, are not quickly to be assembled hether by musters, and if wee had them, you are not ignorant how much they may be relyed vpon, being vnacquainted to fight against ould Legions. Yet hath Leo another mixture in his files. For hee would haue the ould, and new souldiers put together in one file. Least saith hee, the ould being by themselves alone, proue weake, and of small force, and the yong disorderly, having little experience. For the one, albeit ould, yet are well acquainted with service, the other albeit young, and valiant, yet are vnskillfull.*

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CHAP. VI.

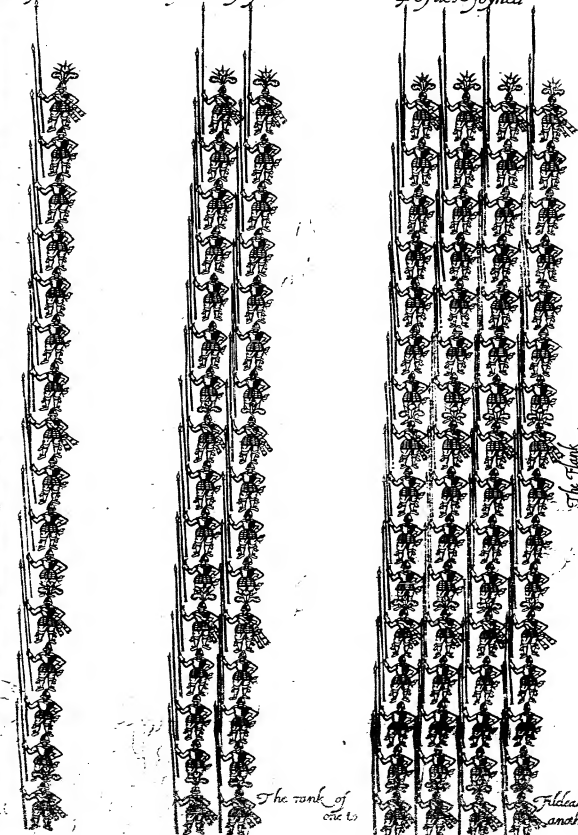
IJoyning of Files, is when one file is layed flank-wise to another, the Leader of the second file to the Leader of the first, and the follower of the second File-leader to the follower of the first, and so the rest. Every man that ranketh

is

1st File

2^d Files Joyned

3^d Files Joyned



The rank of one

The Front

File-leader being joyned another

is called *Parastates*, as for example the *Leader* of the second file, to the *Leader* of the first, and so their next *followers*, and the rest. As often then, as the second file, the third, the fourth, and so the rest are layd *flank-wise* to the first, it is named *Joyning of files*.

Notes.

^r *Joyning of files is]* A file of it self will worke little effect against an enemy. ^a *For what can a man alone in front doe?* ^b *Cyrus in Xenophon wiseth, that,* where as the *Egyptians* stood a hundred in depth, they had beene in depth a thousand, for soe, saith hee, wee should have the severer hands to fight against. The ranke bringeth the multitude of hands to fight. And it is held, that the more hands are with conveniency brought to fight, the more is his advantage, that bringeth them. This is done by joyning files together, out of which joyning ranks spring, and ranks the more they increase, and extend themselves in length, the more hands are ready to encounter the enemy. Now, as it was said in the former chapter, that files consisted of leaders, and followers, from the first to the last. So is it in this chapter said, that ranks consist of side-men from one end of the length of the Phalange to the other: Fewer, or many men, placed side to side in a right line make a ranke; as in two, or three files joyned together, there are sixteen ranks of two, or three men in a ranke. And the two or three file-leaders make the first ranke, their followers the next, and so the rest untill you come to the sixteenth. The like falleth out in more files. ^b *Virbicius saith, that the file-leaders make the front (as they terme it) of the Phalange, which they call also the first ranke. And further, hee saith, they, that runne in an even line betwixt the two wings, the right, and the left, are said to bee Parastatai, or sidemen. Likewise: the last ranke is called Oura, or the reare, and the commander Ouragos, the bringer.* So Virbicius agreeing with *Ælian*. Now, out of these two chapters, is a cleare distinction of the names of souldiers, that by reason of their posture, or place, in battaile make the diversitie of files, and ranks. They, that make files are *Protostatai*, first standers, & *Epistatai*, after standers; which are by us commonly called Leaders, and followers. For these two saith *Ælian* make the file from the beginning to the end. *Parastatai* side standers, or, as wee terme them, side-men, make the ranks. And if you measure the length of the Phalange, you doe it by number of men in the ranke, if the depth by number of men in the file.

Of a Phalange, the length, and depth thereof: of ranking, and filing; the division of the Phalange into wings: the place of the armed foote, of the light-armed, and of the Horse.

CHAP. VII.

^r *THE* whole bodie of the multitude of files is termed a *Phalange*: whose length is the first ranke of file-leaders, and is named, the front, the face, the edge of the battaile, the ranke, the mouth, the Commanders, the fore-standers, & the head of the files.

As much of the *Phalange*, as stretcheth backward from the front to the reare, is named the depth. The bearing straight forth of side-men in length, whe-

ther they be Leaders, or followers, is ranking. And the standing of Leaders and followers directlie in a line in depth, is filing.

A Phalange is divided into two whole partes beginning at the middle section of the front, and bounding on cleane through to the vttermost parte of the depth, whereof the one half is called the *right wing*, and *head*, the other half the *left wing*, and *tail*. The two fold section it self, that divideth the length, hath the name of the *Navell*, and the *Mouth*. The *Light-armed* are placed after the *Phalange of the Armed*, and behind them the *Horse*. Yet if occasion require, both *light-armed*, and *Horse* are otherwise disposed, as after in this discourse will appeare.

Notes,

THE whole body of multitude of files is termed a Phalange] *Joining of files makes ranks, and a sufficient number of files, and ranks together, make a body, which is called a Phalange. For that name is given to any entire body of an indifferent greatness, compacted, and united for fight. Hefychius deriveth the originall of the word Apo tou pelas allos inai; from the standing of the souldiers in battaille neere one to another. Suidas in the same sence, albeit hee differ a little in words, saith, the Phalanges are so called apo tou pelafai anchi, of approaching one neere to an other. The great Etymologicon goeth yet a little further, and saith, that Phalanges are as it were Pelanges para to pelas kai eggys cinai, as it were Pelangys. These are the conjectures about the originall of the name. Which of them is truest, is not greatly to the purpose. It is enough to understand, in what sence the word Phalange is commonly taken amongst Tactick writers, who, as I said, in a generall signification call any great body of armed gathered together, and united for fight, a Phalange. See^a Caesar nameth the battaile of the Helvetians, into which they cast themselves, when they fought against him, and likewise the battaile of Ariovistus, a Phalange. So speaketh^b Xenophon of the Platium, or square hollow battaile, into which the Gracians, that went with Cyrus the younger into Persia, fashioned themselves at their returne out of Persia. And the same^c Xenophon saith, the horse of the Gracians, when they were to encounter the Persians, ordered themselves foure in depth, in forme of a Phalange. And^d Arrian, that the Persians at the River Granicus were ordered in a long Phalange, and^e Xenophon againe discourses how Iphicrates exercised his naute, when hee expected to fight with the Lacedemonians, saith, hee sometimes lead in a wing (that is in a large depth) sometimes in forme of a Phalange, in a broad front. The first inventor of the Phalange is thought to bee Pan the generall of Bacchus his armie. Polyenus saith: Pan was the commander of Bacchus his armie. This man was the first that invented the order of a battaile, called it a Phalange, and parted it into the Right, and left wing. For which cause Poets saine, that Pan carrieth two hornes vpon his head, Besides hee was the first, that by slight, and cunning cast a feare vpon his enemies. For when Bacchus, incamping in a hollow forest, was advertised by his spies, that an infinite number of enemies were lodged one the further side, hee began to be affraide. But not Pan: who commanded the same night the armie of Bacchus to giue as great a shoute, as they could. The Rocks and hollownesse of the forest rendered it againe double to the enemy, & made shewe of a greater armie, then Bacchus had. Where with the enemy falling into a fearefull fourth with, In honour of this stratageme wee saine, that Eccho is Pans loue: & the causeless night-fears, which fall vpon Armies, were attributed to a Pan.*

So

^a Caesar de bell. gall. lib. 1.
^b Xenophon de rep. Cyri. lib. p. 100.

^c Xenophon hist. grec. lib. 2. cap. 1.
^d Arrian lib. 1.
^e Xenophon hist. grec. lib. 1. c. 14.

^f Polybius lib. 1. c. 14.

So farre Polyenus about the inventor of the Phalange. The number of the Phalange is not alwayes one. It may consist of ten thousand, twenty five thousand, or as many, as you list. ^a Antigonus the King of Macedonia had his Phalange of ten thousand. ^b Ptolemaeus King of Egypt, of twenty five thousand. The ten thousand Gracians, that went with Cyrus into Persia are called a Phalange. What number the Helvetians, and Ariovistus, had in their Phalange, is not precisely set downe by Caesar. ^c Yet it seemeth by Caesar, that the most parte of the fighting multitude of the Helvetians cast themselves into a Phalange, and those of Ariovistus likewise: But Aelians Phalange is referred to a certaine number, as the next following Chapter will teach.

2 The length whereof] The length of the Phalange is to bee accounted by the ranke not by the file. The file is but sixteen men deep. The ranke from the point of one wing to the point of the other consisteth a thousand, and twenty foure men in Aelians Phalange. So that the files being short in comparison of the ranke, it is seen, that the length of the Phalange bee measured according to the ranke, not to the file. ^d Suidas agreeth with Aelian saying, that the length of the Phalange is the first syntagma (the first ranke) of file leaders, which is ordered in a right line, stretching from one wing to another, and is called the face, and the mouth, and the front, & the edge, and the first filing, and the first standers of the battaile. The next rowe, being parallel to this, is called the second ranke, and the third, the third ranke, and soe the rest. The length is termed in Greeke Mecos, to which is opposed the depth, which is named Bathos. Neither is there in true account any other dimensions in a Phalange, besides the length, and the depth, which are in this chapter mentioned by Aelians. Other names are given in Greeke writers sometimes, but they signifie either the one, or the other.

3 Is named the depth] As the length runneth along by front from one wing to another, so the depth beareth backward from the front to the rear. The depth is properly called Bathos, as I said. And Bathera Phalange, is a deepe Phalange. ^e And^f Arrian saith, Alexander ordered his Phalange es Bathos, in depth. ^g Polybius, that the Romans made their battaile much shorter then before, but much deeper, Bathyteran. And as it is called Bathos, for the most part, so it is by Leo^h called also Pachos. For the depth of a file is by him termed depth, or Thickness, Bathos etoi Pachos, in two severall chapters of his Tacticks; not in respect of the files selfe, which is no more then a long line, as it were, and carrieth neither Thickness nor breadth, but in respect of the Phalange, the depth whereof is measured by the file. And in the fourth, the twelfth, and fourteenth chapters hee termeth the depth of the Phalange it self (Thickness) Pachos alone with out adding Bathos, shewing thereby, that Pachos also signifieth the dimension of the Phalange from the front to the rear. But where some are of opinion, that Platos, breadth, ought to be read in those places in steade of Pachos, Thickness, they persuade mee not to bee of their mind. For Aelians & after cap. 104. himselfe giueth an Attention, or Thinning, (which hee calleth Lipyrimos) to the Phalange: and that cannot bee understood, unless there were in it a kind of Thickness before. And to make it more plaine, hee saith, that this Lepyrimos is, when the depth of the Phalange is gathered up and from sixteen men it becometh a less number. So that the Thickness of the Phalange is the full sixteen, which is also the depth, and making off it Thinner is to lessen the depth. To a Place Platos is firstly attributed, a Place being onely superficies, which consisteth of longitude and latitude. Soⁱ Polianus speaking of a vally, wherein an ambush was layd to entrap Alexander, saith, the length stretched farre out, but the breadth, Platos, was narrowed to fower furlongs. The name of Platos is likewise given to a place by Polybius. But to say the

E

trush

^a Polyb. lib. 1. c. 19. d.
^b Polyb. lib. 2. c. 40. d.
^c Polyen. lib. 1. c. 14. d.
^d Caesar de bell. gall. lib. 1. c. 14. d.

^e Suidas in Meccos.

^f Diod. Sicil. lib. 17. c. 1. d.

^g Arrian lib. 1. c. 1. d.

^h Polybius lib. 1. c. 1. d.

ⁱ Leo. c. 1. d.

^j cap. 14. d.

^k cap. 7. d.

^l cap. 1. d.

^m cap. 1. d.

ⁿ cap. 1. d.

^o cap. 1. d.

^p cap. 1. d.

^q cap. 1. d.

^r cap. 1. d.

^s cap. 1. d.

^t cap. 1. d.

^u cap. 1. d.

^v cap. 1. d.

^w cap. 1. d.

^x cap. 1. d.

truth Platos in a Phalange rather signifieth the length, then the depth, as appeareth by *Asian* after in the foure and fourth chapter. And *Leo* calleth the front of the Phalange Platos, and when hee would have the front enlarged, or doubled, hee giueth this word of direction *Platrynon pros ta amphoterata mere*, enlarge the front on both sides.

4. The right wing] That which in the English tongue is called a wing, is termed in Greeke *Keras* a borne. Wee in our warres of ancient time divided our armies into three parts, The vantage, the bataille, and the reare-ward: and, when we came to fight, set them for the most part in an even front; the bataille in the middle, on the right hand, the vantage-ward, which was called the right wing, on the left, the reare-ward which was called the left-wing. Properly enough for our em-battailing. For the bataille is, as it were, the body, and the vantage-ward, and reare-ward, are the wings, which in a manner stick out from the body, and where- by the body is supported: that, that we call wings, the Grecians, and Romans called horns in the bataille. The word *Keras* signifieth a point bearing out from the heights, or ends, of any thing. It is used for the toppe of Rocks, and for promontories, and such like; And in a Phalange it properly signifieth the two points (the right and the left) of the wings. The English word wing I am faine to retaine, because it is familiar, and in use. *Asian* heere will haue the wings to stretch out from the middle section to either point (the right and the left) of the Phalange, vnder which appellation must fall to the right wing the whole space, that beginneth at the middle interval, and runneth along to the corner of the bataille on the right hand, to the left, all that is comprehended betwixt the same space, and the left corner of the bataille.

5. The two-fold section] In Greeke it is named *Dichotomia*: because it parteth, and divideth the Phalange into two even parts, beginning at the front, and stretching out to the reare. And *Asian* in the tenth chapter of this booke nameth it *Apotome*. But heere hee speaketh of no more intervals, or partitions, of the Phalange, then of his one in the midst. I would thinke there should be more. *Onofander* saith: let there be certaine intervals in your bataille, that if your enemy advance, you may light-armed after they haue spent their misse weapons, and before the Phalanges joyne, may retire leisurely in the intervalls, and without disorder come behinde to the reare. For it is not safe for them in retiring to fetch a compass about the whole armie, or to turne in againe on the outside of the wings. For the enemy, halting to come to hands, would easily prevent, and intercept, them in the middle: so that they neither should be able to breake through the armed, already clofed for fight, and falling vpon their owne weapons, they must needs disorder their owne people, every man after other seeking to finde a way through them to escape the danger hee is in. *Thou much Onofander*; from whom we may learne, both that their ought to be more sections in the Phalange, then one, and that the institution of them had this effect, to receive the light-armed in their spaces, after they had skirmished with the enemy, and were by them forced to retire. I may adde, that *Asian* placing the light-armed in the reare of the Phalange if you give but one section vnto it, it will be as hard for them, to advance, and true, before the front, as it will be to retire after their service done. It seemeth, that *Leo* giueth three intervals to the Phalange of the ancient Tacticks. He saith, that they opposed the bodies of the armed against the enemy, and divided them into foure parts, the right, and left, and the middle-right, and middle-left parte. Making so many parts, the parts must be distinguished (as I collect) by intervalls, which ought to be one after

after the first body of the right wing, another after the second, which is the middle section, the third after the third. And this Third section is bounded with the fourth body, which maketh the point of the left-wing. For if the Phalange were whole, and entire, without more intervalls then one, how could there be foure parts? For esteeming them by Phalangarchies, without leaving spaces between, it could not be saide, there were but foure parts of the Phalange, considering, that as well the Merarchies, Chiliarchies, Pentecosiarchies, Syntagmatas, as parts of it, as the Phalangarchies. But being distinguished by partition of intervalls, the foure Phalangarchies become foure parts, namely the right, left, middle-right and middle-left: as *Leo* heere termeth them. The same *Leo* speaketh after more plainly, enioyning his general to separate, and disioyne *Diachorizein* the whole number of his armie into foure parts. For, as *Choris* signifieth apart or severed, so *Diachorizo*, being derived from it, signifieth to put asunder, or sette apart. *Suidas* is yet a little more cleare. A Phalangarchie, saith he, is two Merarchies of foure thousand and ninety six men. This as some saye is the section, *Apotome* of the wing, as other, it is a Merarch. Of ancient time it was called *Sirasegia*, and the commander *Sirasegos*, but now hee is termed *Phalangarches*. *Suidas* maketh the wing to haue a partition or section, and saith, some call a Phalangarchie by the name of this section. Before wee heard of *Asian*, that the wing (right or left) did stretch out from the middle section to the outward most point of the bataille on either side. And as the middle section divideth the Phalange in two parts, which are called wings, so this section (spoken of by *Suidas*) being in the middle of the wing divideth the wing into two parts. To call a Phalangarchie (which is a body consisting of foure thousand and ninety six men) a section, is, I confesse, an vnproper speech, but tolerable notwithstanding, considering that the whole foure-folde Phalange is composed of the foure Phalangarchies, and that the section of the right-wing beginneth as the left hand file, or inward point of the right hand Phalangarchie, and endeth as the right hand file of the second Phalangarchie. And we are not to expect the same exactness of speech from *Suidas*, that is common to men skillfull in the liberal sciences. *Soldiers*, that profess action, haue their end, if they be understood of those, they command. Attitudes are contented, that close not the precepts of their arts with elegant, fit, and exact termes. Seeing then the beginning of the section of the wing is at the banke of the first Phalangarchie on either side of the Phalange, wee may after a sort terme the Phalangarchie a section of the wing, because it boundeth the section. At least by this place of *Suidas* wee may gather, that there was an intervall in either wing, which in reason ought to be in the middle of the wing, and to be betwixt the two Phalangarchies. For so many there are in one wing. *Polybius* telleth of *Philip* when, that, fighting against *Machinidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*, after hee had placed the light-armed, the Lanciers, and the Infantry inly in one front, hee added in the same right line the Phalange distinguished into bodies according to Merarchies and divided by severall distances. I translate *Spreideron* distinguished into bodies, because *Spreia* signifieth a military body amongst the Grecians, and is by the Grecians, that wrote the Roman histories, used sometime for a Legion, and sometime, for a Cohort. And it seemeth that *Spreideron* is heere by *Polybius* put in the same sense, that *Eis Speiran* is by *Plutarch*: who mentioning the reformation touching affaires militarie, which the same *Philopemen* brought in amongst the *Achaians*, writeth thus: their manner and forme of embattailing was not usually parcelled out *Eis Speiran*, that is (as I interpret it) in severall bodies, but using a Phalange,

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Phalange, which had isher pretension of pikes, nor clofing of targets in front (as the Macedonian manner is) they were easily foiled, and broken, by the enemy. The meaning of Plutarch is (as I continue) that the *phalanges* formerly used to order the Phalange into a continued length without intervals which Philopomen reformed, and taught us to make divisions; by intervals. And the praefice of Philopomen is the best interpreter of his owne counsell to the *Achaïans*. This praefice Polyhem (firste downe) to bee the division of his Phalange Kata tele speiredon en diafemati into bodies diftinguished by intervals according to Merarchies. Polyhem also, to shew, what bodies they were, *useth the word Tele, which I translate Merarchies, begetting my warrant out of* *Ælian*: who faith a Merarchie consisteth of two Chiliarchies, and consisteth thousand and twenty eight men, and a hundred and twenty fower files; and addeth, that it us of some called a Telos, and the leader a Telarch. And may my doubt being Philopomen made an interval betweene every Merarchie, whether bee made [even divisions, or no: For in *Ælian*: Phalange there are eight Merarchies, betwixt every of which if a distance were, there must needs arise seven intervals. To cleare this doubt wee must understand, that the Phalanges of the Gracians were not alwayes of the same number, as I noted before. *Ælians*, and the Macedonian Phalange, consisted of sixteen thousand and odd. Antigonus had but ten thousand. Demetrius eleven thousand. Other had more, the Lacedaemonians lesse, and likewise the Gracians; for the most part. And is semeth, the Phalange of Philopomen was no more, then eight thousand, and odd, in which number there are but foure Merarchies. As *Ælians*: Phalange comprehending sixteen thousand and odd, wherein are fewe Phalararchies, hath likewise three divisions; by Phalararchies. And yet in this Phalange of Philopomen; if you account the file to haue but eight men (as the most Gracians used in their files to haue) these foure Merarchies will possesse but much ground in front, as the Phalararchies of *Ælians*: Phalange doe the file being sixteen. Neither is it new to figure out the bodies greater, or lesse, according to the number of the Phalange. Leo commandeth his Generall, when the number will not reach to sixteen thousand (the number of the old Phalange) to build notwithstanding sixteen men in a file, and to divide his Phalange into foure equal parts by intervals, excepting some few, which hee would haue reserved for other uses. To conclude *Ælian* him self semeth to acknowledge more sections, then one, when in the tenth Chapter of this booke hee speaketh of the middle section mefe apotome. For this word middle being a relative, can not bee understood without two other at least, which are placed on either side. And all the figures, that I haue seen, of a fourfold Phalange allowe three sections, and no more, that is to say, one in the middle, and the other two in the wings. What the distance and dimension of these sections ought to be, I finde not set downe. But, if I might haue leave to conjecture, I would thinke, they ought to bee large enough for a troupe of horse, framed wedge-wile, after the Macedonian manner, to passe through, the last ranke whereof being fifteen (as appeareth in the twenty chapter of this booke) and the busse placed in the rear, of the light-armed it is needfull, if upon any occasion they were to bee drawn through to serve in the front, the distance of the section should bee sufficient to give them passage without disorder. And I am the rather confirmed in this opinion, because I see the intervals betwixt the Roman maniples so proportioned, that the Principes might passe through those of the Hastati, and the Triarii through those of the Principes. But I proportioned out the intervals to the horse, not to the light-armed, for that the light-armed may bee divided into severall bodies without inconvenience, but any breaking of the

horse wedge breedeth a confusion in the whole troupe. Yet where a troupe of horse may finde way, there may a Centurie, or Colours, of light-armed finde also way.

6 The light-armed are placed after] ^a The light-armed were diversly placed, sometimes before the front of the Phalange, which kind of placing is afterward called Praxaxis, sometimes on the wings, and it is called Hypotaxis, sometimes betwixt the files of the armed fronting in a right line with them, and it was called Entaxis, sometimes in the reare after the Phalange, which was called Epitaxis. All these are spoken of by ^b *Aelian* hereafter in this booke. ^c There is another kinde of placing the light-armed, when they are throwne into the midst of the battaile, being allowed for that, and other purposes. Hereof ^d *Aelian* likewise treateth in this booke hereafter. And albeit the most usuall embattailing of them hath bene in the wings, yet the bestowing in the reare according to *Arians* minde hath also advantages. First it concealeth their number, which because they are shadowed with the pikes standing before, can hardly be discerned. Then it is easie from the reare to drave them to any place of service without disorder, bee it before, on the wings, or behinde the reare. Further, it will not bee easie for the enemies horse to charge them, the armed standing before for a sure defence. Lastly, from the reare they shall bee able at all times to annoy the enemy, before the battaile ioynes, as soon as the battaile ioynes, and all the time of fights. Neither doth this manner of embattailing want examples of the old historie of the *Gracians*. ^e The embattailing of *Cyrus* theelders armie, in *Xenophon*, hath the light-armed in the reare. I will set downe the effect of *Cyrus* words at large because they containe the ordering of an armie to fight according to the iudgement of *Xenophon*. *Cyrus* then being to trye a battaile with *Craesus* thus directis his Commanders: you, faith hee, *Araspes* take your place in the right wing, as you now doe, and you the other *Myriarches*, as you are accustomed. For when the fight is once a foote, noe Chariot may charge horses; and command the *Taxiarches*, and file-leaders, to order their files every one divided in two parts Phalange-wise, that is each half fronting one with another in a right line. A file containeth foure an twenty men. Then faide one of the *Myriarches*, doe you thinke Sir, that wee shall bee able, in this order, to encounter so deepe a Phalange, as the enemies? *Cyrus* answered, the Phalanges that are deeper, then may with their armes reach the enemy, are they fitt thinke you either to annoy the enemy, or profite their frindes? For my part I could with those, that are ranged 100. in depth, to bee in depth a thousand. For so should wee haue the fewer to fight with all. The number, that I giue for the depth of the Phalange, I doubt not, but will entirely serue for vice, and maintaine a ioynt fight in every part. The *Darters* I will place after the armed, and after the *darters* the *Archers*. For who will fette them in front, that confesse themselves vnable to maintaine a fight hand to hand? Howe then will they should their grownde, if they bee fere before the armed: but being in the reare, some with darts, other with arrows, sent over the heads of the armed, will greatly endamage the enemy. And it is cleere, that wherewithall forer an enemy is endamaged, with the same a mans owne side is eased, and relieved. You therefore order your selues, as I haue appointed. As for the captains of the *Targetiers* I will haue them, and their files, stand likewise next the armed in the Reare, and after them the *Archers*. And you the chiefe Commander of the Reare

^a *Actian* cap. 11.
^b *Actian* cap. 11.
^c *Xenophon* Cyrop. lib. 1. cap. 107. 2.

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enjoyne the other reare Commanders every man to haue an eye to those vnder him, that they doe their duties. And let them sharply threaten the negligent, and in case any man treasonably forsake his place, punish him with death. For it is the worke of Commanders both with word, and deed, to encourage those, they command, & to make the cowards more afraid of them, than of the enemy. This is your charge, but you Euphratas, that command over the Engines, see that the beasts, that draw the Engines, and Turrets, follow the Phalange as neere, as may bee. And you Daochus, that haue the charge of the baggage, come with your manie next after the Turrets, and let your Sericants severely punish them, that hast to much before or come to slowly after. And you Carduchus, that rule the wagons, wherein the women are, order them next the baggage. For all these, comming in the reare, will both breede an opinion of multitude, and giue vs meane to lay an ambush, and will force the enemy, purposing to encompasse vs, to fetch a larger compasse; which the larger it is, for much the weaker must bee. And you Artabastus, and Artagerias, each of you leade next after these, the 1000. foote you commande a piece. And you Phranuchus, and Asiadatas, order the Chariarchies of horse you commande not with the Phalange, but set them by themselves apart behind the wagons; and when you haue done it, repaire to vs with therest of the commanders. But you are to bee in a readinesse, as if you were first to fight. And you the commanders of the Camel-riders place your selues after the wagons, and doe what Artagerias shall bidde you. And you the Commanders of the Chariots, after lots are cast, let him, whose lotte it is, range himself, and his 100. Chariots, before the Phalange, the other two hundred, one of them is to follow the Phalange on the right side, wing-wise, the other on the left. So farre Cyrus. I haue rehearsed the words as large, principally to shewe that the light-armed in ancient time were placed sometimes behinde the Phalange, and yet further also, to represent the manner of embattailing an armie, which was then vsuall. For heere haue you set downe the place of the Myriarches, & of the other commanders, which was in front, then the place of the pikes, of the light-armed, of the reare commanders, of the Engines, of the baggage, of the wagons, wherein the women were, of the guards for the baggage, both horse, and foote, of the Camels, and of the Chariots. And albeit many of these particulars agree not with our manner at this day (for we haue neither Engines, nor Camels, nor Chariots, nor lings, nor darts, nor arrows) yet is the reason of warre alike in all, and in our placing also the finesse of seruice principally to bee respected. The place of the horse is heere omitted by Xenophon, which may be supplied out of the seventh booke, where Chrysanthus General of the horse is said to stand on the right wing of the Phalange with half the horse. Hyllaspas on the left with the other half. But to returne to the placing of the light-armed, the same Xenophon testifieth, that it was the Egyptian manner to order their light-armed behinde, & that in the battaile betwixt Cyrus, and Crasus, the Egyptian archers, and darters, were with some sword compelled by the reare-commanders to shoote, and cast their darts. Thrasylus in his fight against the thirty Tyrants set his armed in front, and in the reare but targetiers, and darters, without armor, and those that cast stones. And it seemeth by the words of Thrasylus to his own selfe, that the Tyrants did the like. The Tyrants, saith hee, haue brought vs to a place, in which by reason of the steepnesse they must ascend, and can neither cast stone, nor dart, over the heads of their owne people, that are embattailed before. Where wee contrarywise, whether wee throwe jaucelins, or darts, or stones, shall easily reache, & wound many

a Xenoph. Cyrop.
lib. 7. c. 12. c. 13.
p. 875. c.

b Xenoph. Cyrop.
lib. 7. c. 12. c. 13.
p. 875. c.

c Xenoph. Hec.
c. 1. c. 1. c. 2. c. 3.
p. 473. d.

d Xenoph. Hec.
c. 1. c. 1. c. 2. c. 3.
p. 473. d.

many of them. The stones and darts of the light-armed were to flye over the front of the battaile, and that could not bee unless the light-armed were placed behinde. I will adde one example onely out of Plutarch to shew the seruice of the light-armed in the Reare. Plutarch discoursing of the battaile fought betwixt Sylla, and Archelaus, the General of Mithridates, at Cheronas, hath thus: Afterwards the foote forces came to joyne, the Barbarians holding out, and charging their long pikes, and endeavouring with locking their targets close together, to maintaine the order, and closenes of their Phalange: The Romans on the other side, casting away their darts, and drawing their swordes: putte by the enemies pikes in choler, to the end they might come quickly vp to them. For they espied, opposed against them in front 15000. of the enemies slaues, that were enfranchised by Proclamation of the Kinges generals: & enrolled amongst the armed. And when the Roman Armed could hardly breake them; by reason of their depth, and fast knitting together; and of their bouldnes in daring (contrary to the nature of slaues) to abide the danger of the encounter, the arrows, and darts cast in abundance from the Reare, made them shewe their backs, and fall in a rout. Wee finde heere, that the light-armed from the reare effected that, which the Armed could not. These slaues endured the shooke, and could not bee broken by the armed, and yet were defeated with Arrows, and darts, from the Reare: Nowe for the distance that should bee betwixt the bodies of the light-armed, and betwixt them, and the reare of the armed, Elian saith nothing: I make noe doubt, but there ought to bee as great (if not greater) as in the sections of the armed. For wee must understand, that the sections, that served to sever the Phalangarchies one from another, must runne through the light-armed in depth to the reare. And by them are the Epixenagies to bee deuided a sunder, as the Phalangarchies are: with Epixenagies answer the Phalangarchies for number of files, albeit not in number of men. Likewise there ought to bee, a greater space in ranke, and file, then the armed had. For the handling of misse weapons, require more liberty of place, then the managing of a pike, or sword. A dart can not bee sent for cible without running two, or three, steps in the delivery of it. A sling being throwne, and circled about the head, before the stone, or bullet, can bee forced out to any purpose, will not suffer a neere stander by. In bones, and arrows, is the like reason, if they be used as they ought. Besides the light-armed in their fight are tied to noe certainty of order, or ground, but fight disorderly: See that the more ground they haue, the fitter they are for seruice. In which respect a large intervalle croswise betwixt the armed, and them, should serue to purpose: in hauing liberty for their motion forward, and backward, as occasion should require.

7 And behinde the Horse: I haue not read in any greek historie, that the horse-men in a set battell, haue beene ranged behinde the light-armed. The vsuall manner was to place them in the wings. See did Alexander before hee passed the River Granicus: see at Issos, see at Gangamela: See did Antigonus, against Eumenes, and Eumenes against Antigonus: See Ptolemee against Demetrius, and Demetrius against Ptolemee: and in briefe all the Macedonians, and the Grecians, before the Macedonians were accounted off for master of armes: unless some speciall cause moved an alteration. And, as I shewed out of Xenophon, before all their times. b Cyrus albes, hee set the light Armed in the reare, notwithstanding hee bestowed the horse in the wings: Alexander having passed the River Iler as long as hee marched in the corne land, placed his horse behinde his Phalange, when hee entered the Champeigne, hee set them on the right wing: and lastly cast his Phalange in to a Plesium: and ordered his horse before. In the Corne land, they followed (for feare of an Ambush) in the Champeigne they marched on the

a Plut. in Sylla.

b Lucan. 4. 5. 6.
c Arrian. lib. 1. c. 13.
d Arrian. lib. 1. c. 13.
e Curt. lib. 4. c. 1.
f Arrian. lib. 1. c. 13.
g Arrian. lib. 1. c. 13.
h Arrian. lib. 1. c. 13.
i Arrian. lib. 1. c. 13.
k Arrian. lib. 1. c. 13.
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m Arrian. lib. 1. c. 13.
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p Arrian. lib. 1. c. 13.
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x Arrian. lib. 1. c. 13.
y Arrian. lib. 1. c. 13.
z Arrian. lib. 1. c. 13.

right wing, because on the left, the Phalanx was secured by the River; before the Placium, that, being over-layde with the multitude of the enemy, they might have a sure retreat to the foote. ^a The same Alexander, when he was to fight the Battaille of Issos with Darius, as long as hee was in the streights, marshalled his horse after his foote. But in marching forward, comming to open ground, when he might give full length to his Phalanx, he placed his horse on both the wings. But the reason of setting them behinde was in the streights of the place: and hee being incertaine how neere the enemy lay, was loathe to put them to hazard, before they had liberty of ground to order themselves, and might have assistance of the foote. For otherwise it was an ordinarie matter in marching (as it is the manner also at this day) to dispose the horse half behinde, and half before. I will content myself with one example. ^b When Agesilaus returning out of Asia, passed through Theffalie, the Theffalians, allies of the Thebans, followed him, and sought to endamage his armie to their uttermost. Hee had before disposed his march into a Placium, with the horse half in front, and half behinde, now when the Theffalians ceased not to molest him, by falling vpon his reare, hee sent to the reare all the horse of the vangarde, excepting those, that attended his person. Either party prepared them selves to fight. The Theffalians holding it no sure with horse alone to encounter armed foote: Turning about their faces, began leisurely to retire, and the Lacedaemonians slowly to followe. Agesilaus, perceiving the error of both, sent the best of his horse, that were about him, commanding them to signifie to the rest, that they together should goe, and charge the Theffalians with all speede, and giue noe respite to them, to turne their faces. The Theffalians contrary to their expectation being hottly charged, some fled, other some turned about towards the enemy, other some endeavouring to turne, were surpris'd by their enemies, that by that time were come vp to their flanke. ^c Now for the reason of Alians placing the horse in the reare, I have none more to say, then, that from thence they might bee some drawn to all places, front, flanke, or where soever the enemy is like to distresse vs. For it hath bene the forecast, of all generals to fashion their battails according to the figure the enemy hath before chosen. Examples are so plentifull, I neede not allage many. Onely I will remember one latine story of placing horse in the reare. L. Lentulus, and L. Manlius Acidinus in Spaine being to fight with the Illegretes, and Anferians, and other Spaniards, that had revolved from the Romans, in this very kinde of placing horse in the reare imitated, and gotte the advantage off, and defeated their enemies. ^d Livy hath the story, and writes thus in effect: The next day at the rising of the sonne the Spaniards being all armed, and set in order, shewed their battail, about a mile from the Roman campe. The Anferians were in the middle the Illegretes held the right winge, other obscure people of Spaine the left: Betwixt the wings, and the middle parte, they left broad intervals, to giue passage to their horse: (when time should bee) to fend them through to charge. The Romans Embattailed after their wonted manner, Onely then imitated the enemy, in leaving open waies, for the horse to batter the legions. Lentulus imagining that partye, and none other, should have vse of their horse, that first possessed these intervals of the aduerse battaille, commaunded Cornelius the Tribune to giue direction to the horsemen, presently to charge through, the foote on both sides came to blowes, and the fight was hard, when the Roman horsemen passing through the Spaces, and falling vpon the middle of their enemies at once disordered the battaille of foote and shut vp the waies against the Spanish horse; by which means, after noe long fight,

fight, the enemy was vtterly defeated. Where Livy saith the Romans embattailed after their wonted manner, his meaning is they ordered them selves in Maniples, or Battalions, as wee now terme them (for that was their wont.) But when he ad-deth, they imitated the enemy in leaving open waies for the horse, betwixt the legions. Wee must understand that a legion was thus embattailed: ^a First they di-vided their legion in to thirty Maniples, ten of the Hastati: ten of the Principes, and ten of the Triarii. The ten maniples of the Hastati, they set first in an even front, leaving soe much distance, or void ground betwixt every Maniple, as a Maniple is selfe took up in standing. At a reasonable space behinde, were the Principes placed in as many man-iples: but soe that their maniples stood directly behinde the void spaces of the Hastati. And against the bodies of the hastati, they left likewise spaces in the Principes to the end, the Hastati being overlaid, might retire within these spaces: or else themselves might ad-vance against the enemy, through the intervals of the Hastati. Lastly at a larger distance behinde these were the Triarii set, and divided with spaces betwixt every maniple, which spaces were great enough to recalle the Principes, in case they retired also. Now the horse being ordered in the reare after the Triarii, if from thence, they had gon to charge the En-emy: from, through the spaces of the Triarii, they must of necessity, have fallen upon the Maniples of the Principes whoe were set directly against the intervals or spaces.

To giue therefore free passage to their horse, the Roman Generals removed the maniples of the Principes from their ordinarie place, and bestowed them, in a right line, after the maniples of the Hastati, and made an open lane, (as it were) from the reare of their battell to the front. So that nothing hindred the horse, but they might freely fly vp to, and fall vpon the enemies front. And yet I take not Alians meaning, to be, that the horse set in the reare, should during the time of the fight still remaine there. For soe would not great service be had of them. But hee placed them there the rather to avoide confusion in ordering the foote. And that after their embattailing they might be led from thence to any place, front, or flanke, or where soever they might yield most off. For in the fifteenth and twentieth chapter, he would have both light armed, and horse soe placed, that they might answer all attempts of the enemy. And in his caution following, hee saith, if occasion require both horse and light armed, may bee otherwise placed. That they were usually placed in the wings, I have before shewed. The examples declare they were placed in the reare sometimes:

Of placing in the front there are also examples. ^b The Lacedaemonians at the battaille of Leuctra against the Thebans placed their horse before their Phalanx, and tried their fortune with them, and were beaten, before the foote was slayd: The Persians at the River Gra. ^c The Persians at the River Gra. ^d Alexander, that was to passe over, and embattailed their foote behinde the horse. And Alexander encountered them first with his horse, before his foote could get over: One example more I will add to shewe the reason, why horse are sometimes placed before the front of the Phalanx of foote. ^e Eumenes being to fight against Craterus and Neopolemus, both great generals, that had served under Alexander in all his wars, ordered the fight thus: Because hee vnderstood, that their Army consisted of twenty thousand foote, the most parte Macedonians renowned for their valour, and skill in fight (in whom they set their greatest trust) and of more then two thousand horse; and knewe his owne foote, albeit they were as many in number, yett all to bee ramasses of diuerse kinds of people, and that his owne horse were five thousand, with exceeded the enemy both in number, and valor, hee determined to hazard the battaille vpon his horse, before the two Phalanges of foote should come together: Advancing therefore with his horse farre before his

^a Arrian. lib. 7.
lib. 7.
Cassius lib. 4.

^b Xenoph. hist.
lib. 4. cap. 5.

^c They Creab. 1.
lib. 2. cap. 1.
The like was
done by M. Van-
derburghe in
agguil there.
Liv. lib. 45.
lib. 45. cap. 1.
And by L. Pa-
pyrius against
the Samnites.
Liv. lib. 4. cap. 1.
lib. 4. cap. 1.
And by Sulla
against A. Catulus.
Liv. lib. 8. cap. 1.

^d Livy de m. d. 1.
lib. 2. cap. 1.

^e Xenoph. hist.
lib. 4. cap. 1.

^f Xenoph. hist.
lib. 4. cap. 1.

^g Xenoph. hist.
lib. 4. cap. 1.

his foote, hee tooke the right wing himfelfe, and gaue the left to two strangers, to Pharnabarus a Persian the sonne of Artabazus; and to Phenix a Tenedian: Craterus stood in the right wing of his owne horse, and placed Neoptolemus on the left. And seeing the enemies horse coming forward, with greates fury charged them first, and fought brauely. But his horse failing vnder him, hee fell to ground, and it being not knowne, whoe hee was by reason of the medly, and throng of those, that gaue backe, and fled, hee was trampled vnder foote, and ended his life after a strange manner. By his death the enemy tooke courage, and encompassing their aduersaries on all sides, made a great slaughter, and the right wing, after this manner, with might overpressed, and put to the worke, was faine to fly for succour to the Phalange of foote. In the left wing Neoptolemus stood directly against Eumenes, and the mutuall fight of eche bredde a greates emulation betwixt the generalls, and a fervent desire to come to hands. And being easely knowne, both by their horse, and other marks, they slew one vpon another; and out of their single fight made away to a consequent victorie. And first they assailed one another with swords, and after fell into an vnlooked for, and wonderfull Monomachy, for being transported with anger, and mutuall hatred, quitting the raines of their bridles, with their left hands they eache seized, and tooke hold vpon the body of other, which hapening, and the horse continuing their careere, and springing from vnder them, they both fell to the ground, neither of them could wel arise by reason of the suddaine, & violent fall, and of the heavines of their armor. Yet Eumenes got vp first, and prevented Neoptolemus, striking him on the ham. The wounde was wide, and his strength of footing thereby failed, & soe lay as one, that had noe vse of his legges, being not able to raise himselfe because of the hurt: notwithstanding, courage overcoming the weaknes of his body, hee list vp himfelfe vpon his knees, and hurt his aduersarie in the arme, and thighes, giving him three wounds. But none of the wounds were mortall, and they being yet warme, Eumenes with a second blowe hitting his necke, slew Neoptolemus outright. Whilest these things were a doing the rest of the horse fell together. Many were slaine on either side: some therefore falling, other being wounded, at the first the daunger was equall. Afterward, when the death of Neoptolemus was openly knowne, and that the other wing was put to flight, every one shifted for himselfe, & made towards the Phalange of foote, as to a strong wall of defence to saue himselfe. This was the issue of the battaile. Wherein Eumenes, placing his horse before his foote, because hee held them his strength, and with the strike the hazard of the day, shewed himselfe both in counsell, and action, a greates generall. And Craterus on the contrary side, albeit highly esteemed amongst the Macedonians, as one, that had with great succiesse served Alexander in all his warres, yet failed in iudgment, in that hee choseth rather with his horse to encounter the stronger parte of his enemies forces, then with his Macedonian Phalange (which Eumenes himselfe feared) to vie his fortune. For as it is a pointe of foresight to knowe a mans owne advantage, and vse it: Soe it is noe lesse iudgement, to knowe wherein the enemy is stronger, and to avoyde yt. Eumenes did both; for hee used his owne horse, which were his strength, and brought to pass, that Craterus his Phalange did him noe good, in as much as they never came to fight. Craterus failed in both, in that hee neither brought his Phalange to fight, nor yet provided sufficientlie to encounter Eumenes horse; which exceeded his in valour, and number, soe appeares both, that horse were placed before the front of the foote, and also the storie giues the reason, why they were placed there.

of

Of the number of the armed foote, of the light-armed, and of the Horse.

CHAP. VIII.

NOW are wee to lay out, what number the armed-foote, the light-armed, and the Horse ought to bee, and how particularly ordered, and how vpon occasion the Battaille may speedely be transformed into divers shapes, & formes, and what discipline vsed for the motion of the severall parts of it. Wee cannot with any probabilitye set downe a precise number of forces to be leyed. For as much as every man is to proportion his levie according to the importance and qualitie of the warre in hand. This yet must not escape vs, that such a number is to bee chosen, as will fit the divers shapes, and transmutations of our Troopes. As if in case wee were to double, or to multiply, and manifoldly enlarge the length of the Phalange, or els to lessen, and drawe it vp into a narrower roome. For this cause choice is made of a number, that may be, reparted into half continually, till you come to one. Hence is it, that most Tactick writers would have a Phalange to consist of sixteen thousand, three hundred, eightie, and foure armed foote, and of half so many light-armed, and of half as many Horse, as light-armed. For 16384. may be reparted continually into half, till you come to one. Therefore for prooffe, and Examples sake this numbers is admitted. And where wee have allotted sixteen men to every file, the whole masse will arise to one thousand, twenty, and foure files.

Notes.

THE Chapter before spake of the parts and dimension of the Phalange, and of the place of the armed, the horse, and light armed. This treatise of the number that goeth to the Phalange. In choise of which number, Ælian saith consideration is not soe much to be had of multitude, as of line: for service. For such a number as cannot apply bee disposed for fight, is rather meanes of confusion, then of order without which no fight can be maintained: Therefore such a number is to bee chosen as will serve.

The diverse shapes, and transmutations of our Battaille] Every motion, in the battaile makes not a Transmutation, or diversitie of shape. In turning of faces to the one hand or other there is noe other shape of the Phalange, then was at first: As a man turning his face any way, the same proportion of lineaments remains that was in him before. Soe likewise in countermarch or wheeling after the Countermarche, or wheeling is done, every souldier if he keep his right distance, and remaine in file and ranke, hath the place hee had before: And soe noe transfiguration of length or of depth followeth. The motion then, that Ælian meanes to make Transmutation, are Doublings: For whether you enlarge the length, or depth, of your Phalange; you straight induce another shape. A long fronted Phalange, and a Horse differ much in forme. If you will make of the ordinarie Phalange a horse, you are to double your files soe often, as your thinke convenient for the length of your horse. Then if from the Horse, you would returne it to the first forme, you are not to cease doubling Ranks, till you have gained that forme: likewise if of your ordinarie Phalange, you would make a long fronted Phalange, your ranks are to be doubled, and by continuing your doubling, you may drawe out what length you will. And

contrary

contrarywise, by due doubling your files againe, you come to the first forme: How much you double your Ranks, See much you take away from the depth of your Phalange, as on the other side, doubling of your files, diminisheth the length. For the purpose, your Phalange is sixteen deep, double your Ranks; the depth hath but eight men; double it once more, and it hath but foure. Soe is the Phalange consisting of foure ranks, & every ranke, hath foure thousand, and ninety six men in it: But the length is foure times as much as it was. In like manner doubling your files (which in Alians Phalange are a thousand, and twenty foure) the first doubling leaveth five hundred, and twelve files and soe many enyame; the second seven hundred, and sixty eight, and two hundred fifty six remaine, and soe many men have you in a ranke. But where the Phalange was but sixteen deep, now in the second doubling it is become sixty foure deep: If you please to reduce it to the first forme, two doublings of ranks will suffice. Here wee must understand that doubling ranks, is not to make twice soe many as they were before, but to give twice so many men, to every ranke, as they had before by infertinge the even ranks into the oddes, as the second into the first, and the fourth into the third, and the sixth into the fourth, and the eighth into the sixth, &c. The use of doubling I will shewe in my notes upon the twenty nine chapter of this booke. Alian therefore would have his Phalange, of such a number as may be reparted continually into halfe, till you come to one; which number hee saith to bee sixteen thousand three hundred, and eighty foure. And yet ariseth out of the Multiplication of one by two he still doubling the product, till you have made up the full number, of sixteen thousand three hundred, and eighty foure. And as the Multiplication by two begets the number, soe it being divided by two continually, it may be reduced at last to one: Which is the thing, that Alian aymes at. For the numbers, that have not equall division by half, leave some supernumerary men in the Phalange: (Which) in doubling will disorder both files, and Ranks: Every man acquainted with the Lowe country militarie exercise at this day, knoweth, that when there is an uneven number of files, the odd file supernumerary brings a difference, and cannot bee doubled in the sort as the rest are: As in five, seven, nine, eleven, severall bodies of files: Two, six, eight, ten, may well beee doubled, and become two, three, foure, five files a piece: but the fifth, seventh, ninth, eleventh, must beee severed from the rest of the doubled files; and serve to no purpose, being not matchable in depth with the rest after there doubling. The same reason is of ranks: Now when Alian saith, that this number in a Phalange may be divided by half and reduced at last to one, Wee must with all understand, that the file of the Phalange in such division, ought to be either of eight, or sixteen men a piece, that the file of under eight, except foure, or two (which fitteth into the depth, of a Phalange) nor betwixt eight, and sixteen, is divisible by half, till you come to one. Nor nor above sixteen except it bee produced out of the duplications of sixteen. A file of 12 comes nearest. And of that number was the file of Cyrus in Xenophon. Such a file notwithstanding by division of two states at three, and can descend noe lower. Ten was the old file of the Gracians, and it was called Decas. And albeit after ward upon better consideration they enlarged the number of the file to twelve, yet they retained the name of Decas still. But in retrace to one division, and goeth downe ward noe further then five. The uneven number, under sixteen cannot be divided at all. Files by fraction. As sixteen, which if you will divide by halfe, the quotient will bee six, and there remaineth an odd man over: of which number, if all the files of the Phalange should bee, you should have a thousand, and two hundred, and sixty, which will receive noe more, then two doublings without a fraction. If then the files be above sixteen, and under thirty two, you cannot divide them continually by half, but you must faile of the manner, that Alian speaks of. As for the number of sixteen thousand three hundred, and eighty foure, albeit of it self it is divisible by two till you come or descend

3 Xen. Cyrop.
lib. 1. c. 11.

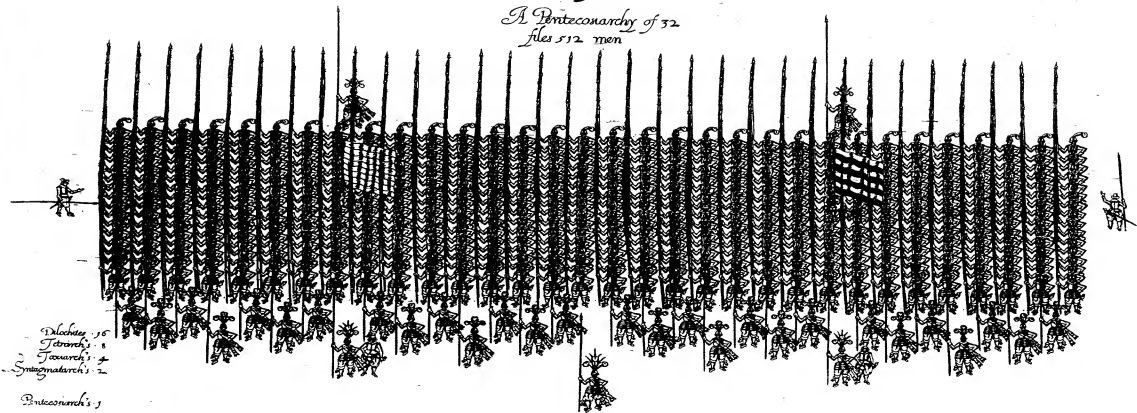
to 1, yet we must not consider it apart, as an abstract by it selfe, but as it nambreth, and is applied to the Phalange. In which respect, it giveth a 1024 files of 16 deepe, which files will still hold out the doubling, till you come to one file.

3 A Phalange to consist of 16384. J. Alian (out of the most Tactics writers as he professeth) will have the Phalange of sixteen thousand, three hundred, eighty and some men. I have noted before that a Phalange may be more or lesse, than this number. But I take this to be the number of the Macedonian Phalange. * Appian seems to testifie a Appian in which the chiefeft strength was the Phalange whole army consisted of 70000 men. Of Syracusa 167. B. men, ordered according to the forme, that Philip and Alexander had before used. He placed them in the middle, dividing the 16000, into 10 equal parts, in every of which parts was 50 men in front, and 32 in depth, and upon the flanks of every part 22. the shew of the Phalange was like a wall, of the Elephants like turretts: hitherto Appian. I have translated He Phalanx, He Macedonian according to the word, the Phalange of the Macedonians, where the right meaning is, the Macedonian Phalange. For it consisted not of Macedonians, but was armed, and ordered, after the Macedonian manner. For how was it possible for Antiochus to wage, and have in his service 16000 Macedonians, being neuer himselfe King of Macedonia, and the King, that then was (namely Philip the sonne of Demetrius) was his enemy, and in league with the Romans? Besides Appian hath in expresse words: the Phalange was armed, and ordered, according to the institution of Philip and Alexander: whose manner Antiochus might well receive, considering he was lineally descended from Seleucus, the successor of Alexander in the kingdom of Syria: And Seleucus had bene in the service of Alexander in the whole conquest of Persia. * Livy saith also, they were armed after the Macedonian manner. Whereby a man may inferre, they were no Macedonians: Hee speaking of the same battaile (which was the battaile of Antiochus against L. Scipio) hath thus: The Kings army was mingled of sundry nations, and divers with dissimilitude of armes and aides. There were 16000 foote armed after the manner of the Macedonians. They were called Phalangites. This was the middle of the battell, and in front divided into 10 parts, which parts were distinguished by placing 22. Elephants in each interval. The battell had 32 ranks in depth. It was the principal strength of the Kings forces, and both with the other thiew, and also with it great terror. Livy saith the 16000 were armed after the Macedonian manner, and were called Phalangites: Appian, that there were 16000 ordered and distributed according to the ordinance of Philip and Alexander. Livy, and Appian, both agree, that there was 10 parts, and every part secured with intervals, and had 32 men in depth, which is the Macedonian file once doubled. Livy speaketh not of the number of the length of the Phalange. Appian saith plainly there were 50 in front, of every of the 10 parts, which amounts to 500: for 10 times 50 makes 500. Now if you multiply the length of the Phalange which is 500 by the depth, which is 32, you have the 16000, whercof Livy and Appian spake. But respect a doubt, in the difference betwixt both these authors, and Alian. Livy, and Appian, both giving but 16000: Alian 16384 Roman (we may probably conjecture) was half a stranger, in the Art Tactics of the Gracians, and that, which he wrote, he had from others: perhaps no better skilled in the same Art than himselfe. Appian was a Gracian (for so those of Alexandria in Egypt accounted themselves, after Ptolemy the first had established that Crowne in his family) and as his historie sheweth, well acquainted with the order the Gracians held in embatting

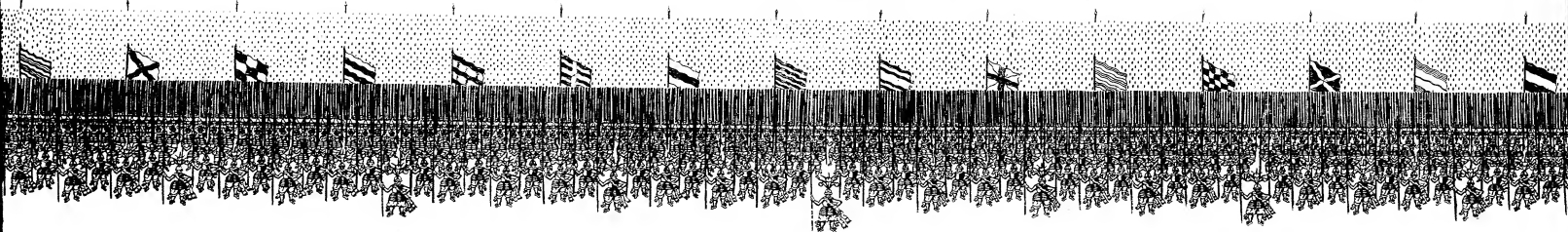
b Liv. Decad.
4 lib. 7. 141. A.

Cap. 9.

A Buteconarchy of 32
files 512 men



Capt. 9.
A Phalanx 9^e 256 jés 4096 men



ἡ διόλκῃς of
2 files 32 men



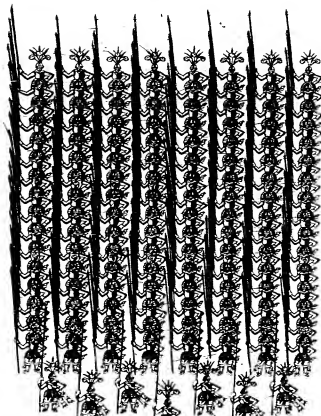
ὁ διολκῆς or *ὁ διολκῆς* Commander
of 2 files

ἡ τεταρτῇς of
4 files 64 men



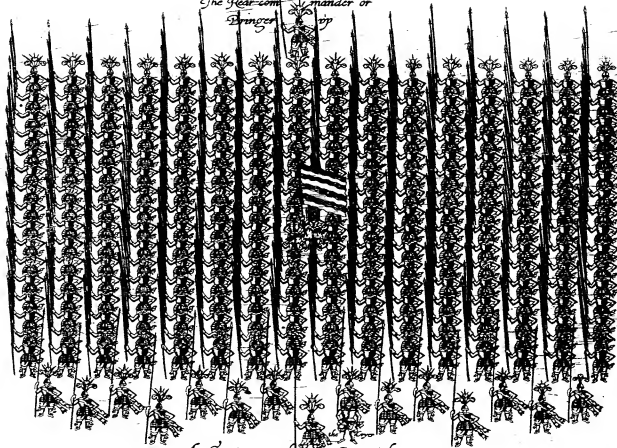
ὁ τεταρτῆς Commander
of 4 files

ἡ τάξις of
8 files 128 men



ὁ ταξιάρχης or Commander
of 8 files

ὁ ὄπισθος
ἡ ῥέα



ὁ συνταγματάρχης or Commander
of 16 files

ἡ συνταγμα of
16 files 256 men
ὁ ὄπισθος Commander or
Bringer

still: their number, and haue euery one a generall Commander. The best is two files ioined together, which is called a Dilochy; and because there are in Phalange 1024. files, there must also bee 512. Dilochies, which consist of two files a peece. If you double this body of two files, and make thereof a body of foure files, it hath an other name, and is called a Tetrarchy, of which Tetrarchies there are 256. in a Phalange. Double againe these 4. files, and I make 8, the body is called Taxis. And these eight files, being doubled bring out the Syntagma of 16. files; which is a square number of men, 16. in the front, and 16. in the flanks. And so proceeding still in 6. doublings more, you come at last to the fourefold Phalange containing the number of 16384. men, and 1024. files. Now as in the Phalange there are 16. bodies out of these doublings, the Dilochy being the first, and the fourefold Phalange the last: So doth *Ælian*, appoint for euery body a Commander, who albeit they severally command, each his owne troupe, yet are they subordinately one under another, the lesser under the greater, till at last the soverainty of the command rest in the General of the Army. ^a The Dilochies are directed by the Tetrarches, the Tetrarches by the Tactarches, the Tactarches by the Syntagmarches, the Syntagmarches by the Pentecostarches, and they by the Chiliarches, ouer whom are Metarches, and ouer the Metarches the Phalangarches, and ouer them the Commanders of the wings, or Diphalangarches, and the soveraigne of the Armie or General is the highest, and last. The number of these Commanders a man would think were to no great purpose being in all the 2. Diphalangarchies therein comprized) 1022, besides the file Leaders, which standing in the heades of their files, amount but to two men more; that is to 1024. For so many (as I haue said) are the files of the Phalange. But if the conueniency be obserued, it will not seeme impertinent. ^b For all the Leaders being in front, (therefore are they called Leaders, because they precede, and the rest follow,) it makes both a gallant shew, and that rancke being as it were, the edge of our battaile, not only serues to hew a sunder, and rent a peece the forces of our enemies; But also standeth as an assured bulwarke of defence before the rest of the Armie, that followeth. And it is well noted by ^c Leo, that the multitude of Commanders ^d in the armie: And is a meanes to keep the Souldiers in greater obedience, and to giue vndoubted effect to all directions. Of what qualitie and disposition, those Leaders ought to be, you may (see in the fourth Chapter of *Leos* Tactics. Onely I will adde, that as they are higher in dignity, so ought they in vertue and valour exceede those, that are under their command. ^e

¹ A Dilochy] Consists of two files; for so signifies the word Dilochia: and the Lea-Dilochia, der is called a Dilochite.

² A Tetrarchy] Of foure files; and the Leader is called a Tetrarch, one that hath the command of foure files. And here I must once more admonish, that in the words of diuers signification, we must not weigh, what is the proper signification, but how they are used in this Art, and booke.

For the word Tetrarch signifieth sometimes a King: as *Helychius* hath: and ^a *Deiotarus* in *Tully* is called a Tetrarch, and ^b *Herode* in the *Gospell*; who both are common-^c out. pro knowne for Kings. Thessaly likewise was diuided into 4. Principalities, Thessali-^d Derrare-^e Luc. otis, Pthiotis, Pelasgiotis, and Astiotis; whereof euery one was named a Tetrarchy. Onely the difference is, that a Tetrarch being a King, or a Governour, signifies him, that hath the government of the fourth part of the land, (for a Tetrarchy is the government of the fourth part) But a Tetrarchy in *Ælian* signifies a body military consisting of foure parts (4. files) and the Tetrarch commands not ouer one alone, but ouer all the 4. parts.

³ A Taxis] As the word Tetrarchy is diuersly taken, so is Taxis likewise. For sometimes it imports Order in a generall signification, as I noted before: Sometimes the

f Polyb. lib. 1.
155. B. & lib.
11. 439 E.
g Xenoph. de
exped. lib. 4.
338 B. c. x. y.
rop. lib. 4.
302. C.
h Arrian lib. 11.
21 E.
i Polyb. lib. 12.
466 B.
j Xenoph. Cy.
rop. lib. 2.
41. D.
k Polyen. lib.
3. 9 in int. h.
322.

¹ order of a battaile : & sometimes a company of any kinde of Souldiers, foote, or horse as Taxis Pelastarum, Taxis Equitum ; sometimes a single Phalange, as in ² Arrian mention is made of Taxis Oeni, Taxis Perdica, and Taxis Meleagri &c. who were Phalangarches, as the story sheweth. ³ Sometimes for all the armed, as Taxis Phalangitarum : Sometimes a rancke of men standing embattaile, as in Thucidides, who describing the battell of the Lacedemonians, [saith the front] which he calleth the first rancke (ten proren Taxis) consisted of 448. But in a more speciall signification it is taken for a band of Souldiers. And in that signification the number varieth. ⁴ In Xenophon, it comprehendeth a hundred men : What the number of the Athenian Taxis was, I finde not delivered by any Writer. That they had Taxiarches ⁵ Polyenus sheweth plainly. And if a man with leave might gesse, I would imagine their Taxis consisted of 250 men : For I finde in the same place of Polyenus, that they had Chiliarchies, Pentecosiarchies, Taxies, and Lochagies. I have before shewed, that Lochos in Xenophon is made sometimes of about 100. men. Out of which may be inferred with probability, that Taxis, being the next degree above the Lochagie, hath the double number, or more ; The rather because a Chiliarchy hauing in it a 1000. the Pentecosiarchy must haue 500. and by likelihood the Taxis 250. as being the next office vnder the Pentecosiarchy. But what saith the Taxis of the Athenians, or of other people was, Elian maketh his Taxis up with 128 men, and 8. files ; which is a double number to the Tetrarchy. With whom Suidas agreeth, giuing 2. Tetrarchies to a Taxis : and saith it consists of 128 men. The Commander of the Taxis is called a Taxiarch, as the Commander of the Tetrarchy is a Tetrarch. Here I am to note by the way, that the interpreter of Xenophon translateth Taxiarcha, the Commander of a Cohort ; where Taxis in the straighter signification cannot be taken for a Cohort because a Cohort differeth much in number, hauing in it as the least 500. and odde men, where the Taxis, when it is greatest hath no more then 128. And ⁶ Polybius saith plainly, that spira is the Greeke word, that fully expresseth the Roman Cohort.

i Polyb. lib. 11.
641. C.

m Polybios
callicia Coh.
hort Syntagma.
lib. 11. 641. C.
n Diof. Nicol.
lib. 13. 591.

* Cap. 31.

o Suidas in
mecos.

p Suidas in
Tul. Poll. lib.
cap. 10.
q Polyb. lib. 1.
31. B.

4 A Syntagma] The word cometh of Syntaxis, or Syntato, to place together ; and a Syntagma is a body compounded of many parts artificially put together. ⁷ But it may be taken for any body in the armie. ⁸ Diodorus reports of Dionysius the elder That after he had diuided his whole Armie, (which had in it 30000) into three parts, he employed two against the Carthaginian Campe in diuers manner : himselfe tooke the syntagma, or third part, which consisted of mercenary Souldiers, and led against that quarter of the campe, which had the Engins. ⁹ Elian also writeth the word diuersly For he calles the whole armie by the name of Syntagma, in the plural number, and sometimes Syntagma in the singular. And further giueth the same name to a file. ¹⁰ Suidas likewise describing the length of a Phalange, saith it is the first rancke (Syntagma) of file Leaders, which stretch forth in a right line from wing to wing. Wherby appeareth that which the Logitians affirm, (which I touched before) that there are more things then names of things : And that fit names cannot be giuen to all. The names that haue bene giuen by antiquity, to expresse the severall bodies of the Phalange, are to be retained by vs, as proper enough to signify the thing they meant. Neither are we to vary from them, unless we our selves can inuent better. The Syntagma that Elian here mentioneth, is framed of two Taxies, that is of 126. files, & of 256 men. The Commander of it is named a Syntagmatarach. And where he addeth, it is called of some a Xenagy, we are to vnderstand that ¹¹ Xenagos was he (amongst the Grecians) that had the command of a band of strangers, (as he that leuied strangers was called a Xenologos) and the band it selfe was called a Xenagy. Why the Syntagma should haue the appellation of Xenagy, I cannot diuine ; unless the reason were. Because it was about the

number, whereof strangers made their companies, that serued amongst the Grecians. And I thinke, and shall still better information, that the body of the light armed called a Xenagy mentioned heresafter, had that name likewise for the same reason. Now of all the bodies in this Chapter mentioned, there is none that cometh so neere the companies as at this day, as doth the Syntagma, for (excepting that our numbers differ, and are in diuers places more, or lesse) the offices of each are alike. You haue in the Syntagma a Lieutenant, or Reare Commander ; so in our Companies. In the Syntagma is an Ensigne, and an Ensigne-bearer ; the like in our Companies. In a Syntagma is one Sergeant, our Companies haue more. The Syntagma had a trumpet, and our Companies for the most part haue two drummes. We enely want a Crier, which every Syntagma amongst the Macedonians had. What the use and place of all the Officers was, I will straight discover.

5 Fiue superordinarie men ;] Namely the Ensigne the Reare-commander, the Trumpetter, the Sergeant, and the Crier of whom we last spake. That which I translated, superordinarie, is in Greeke Ectactoi. ¹² Suidas giues the reason, why they were so called : because (saith he, they were not numbered so part of the battaile, that is ordered in files & ranckes. As Xenophon [saith of Miriarches, Chiliarches, and Taxiarches, & other Commanders (whom Cyrus called to him) that they were not recounted amongst the military numbers, and might depart from the Phalange without altering the forme thereof. In the files they could not be, because they should so increase the number in the files, and make one longer then an other, and hinder doublings, and other motions, besides the deformity, they should bring in, in making the battaile uneven : And a file of themselves they could not make. The like disorder would they bring in the ranckes, where they could not conveniently stand, unless some body filed with them, being much thers of of themselves. Besides their employment is to stirre here and there apart, as they are commanded : where they of files, and ranckes neuer move single, but jointly, as shall seem good to their Commander. And albeit these fiue be removed from the battaile, yet remaineth the battaile without them entire of it selfe, and in perfect forme, as though there were no need of them, when notwithstanding their use is otherwise so needfull that although the battaile may be, it cannot well be without them.

An Ensigne] Our use is to call the Ensigne-bearer an Ensigne for breuities sake ; As a Drummer, a Drumme, a Trumpetter, a Trumpet, and that not absurdly. A distinction will easily appeare in common speech, by the application of words of circumstance to the one, or the other. The end why enignes were diuised appeareth in ¹³ Diodorus Siculus, he giuing diuers reasons, why the Egyptians (whom he accounted the ancientest of men) were carried away with superstition of worshipping Beasts, after the manner of the Country, hath amongst other words this in effect : A second cause the Egyptians giue, because of old time being in diuers conflicts thorough disorder in their Armie, vanquished by their borderers, they had recourse to the inuention & bearing of Ensignes in their troupe, and fastening them to the ends of long staves, the commanders caused them to be borne aloft by means whereof every man knew of what troupe he was. And seeing this good order auailed much to victorie, they conceiued, that the beasts were the cause of their safety. In recompence whereof they ordered, that none of these beasts should be killed, but be honoured with religious care and worship. Ensignes were then diuised for readiness to direct souldiers in particular, whether to resort in time of fight. ¹⁴ Cetera praefixi agere habent u. Ceteris de bell. gall. lib. 2. the telling of his owne souldiers disorder hath shewn : What fouer part they came into by chance, and to what Ensigne fouer, there they staid, least in seeking their owne

u Ceteris de
bell. gall. lib. 2.

⁹ Vegetius b.
cap. 19.

owne they might happily lose the time of fight. And Vegetius enlargeth the cause writing thus: The ancient warriors perceiving that in time of fight the order, and embattailing of an Armie was quickly brought in route, and confusion, to auoid this inconuenience, diuided the Cohorts into Companies, and appointed an Ensigne of euery Company. So that in the Ensigne was written, of what Cohort and of what number in the Cohort the Companie was. Which the souldier seeing, or reading could not erray from their Companions, though the tumult were neuer so great. Leo also maketh this the use of the Ensigne: Vce command altho, faith he, that the heads of the Ensignes of euery Company or Band be of one colour, and that the ilke of euery Turme, or Drunge, haue a colour by it selfe. And so the end that euery Companie may with ease know their owne Ensigne, other marks and tokens are to be added to the heads of the Ensignes, that according to Turmes, and Drunges, and Companies, they may be knowne. But in any case, let the Ensignes of euery Turmarchy be different one from another, & cleare to be discerned, that the souldiers may know them euen at a faire distance. His meaning, as I take it, is that euery great body, or regiment should beare in their Ensignes a seuerall colour, and that the Companies of that body should likewise hold themselves to the same colour in their Ensignes: So notwithstanding that (as the wile was this day) the Ensignes of euery Company should haue a seuerall marke to bee knowne by, besides the colour in generall. For so both the Regiment may be quickly discerned, and one Company with facilitate be distinguished from another. What the forme of the Ensigne was, we may out of the former place of Diodorus see: The Egyptians, faith he, counterfeiting the shape of those Beasts, which they worshipped, fastened the Portraict to the end of long stauces. Xenophon testifies the like of the Standard of Cyrus. Cyrus (faith he) commanded his army to cast their eyes vpon the Standard, and to follow it with equall pace, and in order. The Standard was a golden Eagle stretcht out vpon the end of a long staffe. Which Standard is at this day the Standard of the Kings of Persie. The Ensigne was nothing else, but the figure of some beast advanced high vpon the end of a long staffe. As of an Eagle, of a Wolfe, of a Horse, and such like, and sometimes they added peeces of coloured silke fastened vnder the images to make a greater difference betwixt the Ensignes. Whether our Ensignes at this day, made of many sorts of Tuffaty, or the ancient Ensignes of the Gracians (I may not aside of the Romans, for they observed the same forme) are the better for use, I will not dispute. I may notwithstanding freely say, that the stronger reason weigheth for the Ancient. For besides the auhoritie of such excellent wits, as they were, and so exquisite in their invention, the reason of the lightnes is to be preferred: Besides the which hath no such force ouer them, and they neither hinder the Souldiers, that stand next by cuttingling, nor by flapping in their faces, nor take away the sight of such things as are to be observed and regarded in the field. For the matter whereof the Ensigne was made, see Iustus Lipsius in his Commentaries to Polybius. As for the armour of the Ensigne-bearer (especially the Ensigne-bearer of the armed) I take it (for I haue no authoritie therein) that he had the same defensive Armour that the Souldier which fought vnder the Ensigne had (excepting the Target) both to assure himselfe from the flying weapons of the light armed, and from the pike and sword of the armed, in case the battaile were entred and pierced as farre, as the Ensigne. For it was no reason, he should carry a Target, left both his hands should be bound, the right with the Ensigne, the left with the Target, and so be haue no use of either against the enemy. And in the left hand I would giue him a spear, or iavelin, (not a pike, which cannot be wielded with one hand) for his owne defence, and to offend the enemy. Which weapon, I haue read Ensignes

⁹ Xenophon Cy-
rop. lib. 7.
172. D.

⁹ Iustus ad
Polyb. lib. 4.
Dileg. 1.

signes of ancient time did beare. What the Ensignes place was, whether in front, or in the middle of the Battaille, I see it controuerted. Patricius absolutely affirmeth, that the Ensignes were placed in the middle of the front, and had 8 files on the right, and 8 on the left, to the end they might be seene, and followed by all. That Ensignes were first invented to be a marke of seuerall bodies military in an Army, I haue before shewed. But it followeth not thereof, that they were placed in the front in time of fight. For being in the middle, they no lesse gave notice, what the body was, than in the front. The reason of following is of lesse force, inasmuch as the Souldier well knoweth whom to follow, though he haue no Ensigne at all, the Commander alwayes with his motion giuing him direction, when to aduance forward, when to turne his face to the right, or left hand, when to countercharge, when to double, and when to use all other motions military. And be Commanders were therefore called Leaders, because they went on before, and the souldiers followed after. So that the Ensigne, in regard of following, neede not to be in the front. * Tatin exercising the trouper, and in marches, I finde, that the Ensigne was in the front, together with the Capitaine, Crier, Trumpeter, and Guide. But I take the reason to be, because being in the middle, and hauing neither file, nor ranke with the rest, they might happily bring a confusion, and be a hinderance to the changes, and diuers figures of the Battaille. When the time of fight was the Ensigne retired to his place, that is to the middle. For so Leo interpreteth himselfe in his precept of closing files: which must be done, faith he, not onely by File-leaders in front, Commanders of file, and bringers-up in the Rear, but in the middle also, where the Ensigne standeth. And rather agree to Leo herein, because I see, it was the manner of the Romans also, to place their Ensignes in the middle of their Maniples. * From whence came the appellations of Antesignani, Souldiers that stood before the Ensigne, and Postsignani, that stood behinde. Besides the Ensigne being in the front, the Ensigne-bearer may sometime clap, who falling, the Ensigne goeth to ground, and is in danger of losing, which was the greatest disgrace among the Romans, that might befall. Lastly, Elian him- selfe in plain words placeth the Cornet of horse farre from the front. For speaking of the ordinarie Horse-troope, he saith it is to consist of 64 horse, the first ranke of 15 horse, the 2 of 13, the 3 of 11, the 4 of 9, descending still, and diminishing a horse in euery ranke, till you come to one. He addeth he shall carry the Cornet, that standeth in the second ranke next the ranke-Commander on the left hand: which ranke is the second ranke, himselfe declareth, making the ranke of 15 the first, the 12 the 2, which is the 7th from the front, and next the rear but one. If the Cornet haue no place in front, why should the Ensigne, considering both seruice to one use, and the reasons of being, and following are equall to both? And albeit I haue placed the Ensigne, the Crier, the Tromper, and Sergeant, before the Battaille, the Lieutenant in the rear, it is notwithstanding to be understood, of the times of marching, or of exercise, which I note before. For what should that Rable of unarmed (being 4 in euery Syntagma, and in the whole Phalange 256.) doe in the front in the time of fight, but onely pester the confusion of the Armie: who therefore haue the front, that they may make speedier way into the enemies battell?

⁹ 7 A Rear-commander [Was the same that a Lieutenant is with vs. He commanded the Souldiers in the Rear, no lesse then the Syntagmararch in the front, and had his place in the Rear. What the duty of a Rear-commander was, I haue shewed out of Cyrrus words in Xenophon. And Elian afterwards testeth it downe most plainly. He was armed, as the rest of the armed of the Syntagma, namely with Pike, and Target, and with such other armes, as I haue described in my notes vpon the second Chapter.

8 A Trumpet]

⁹ Xenoph.
Cyrr. lib. 6.
169. E.
⁹ postea cap.
14.

⁹ Lipsius ad
Polyb. lib. 4.
Dial. 3.

⁹ Patric. Parall.
p. m. lib. 10.
cap. 3.

⁹ Leo cap. 7.
But 5. 2. & cap. 14.
5. 1.

a Suidas in
Eclatlos.

8 A Trumpet.] *The invention of the Trumpet is attributed to Tirhenus Hercules sonne. But the different use of these officers is worth the noting out of.* Suidas: The Crier, saith he, serveth to deliver directions by voice, the Ensigne by signall, when noise taketh away the hearing of the voice: the Trumpet by sound, when thorough thickness of dust a signall cannot be discerned: The Sergeant to bring such things, and dispatch such messages, as his Syntagmarch commands. So that these officers were held all necessary for a Company, the one supplying the defect of the other, and serving for use when the other failed. The Trumpet then was to be used according to Suidas, when neither the Crier, nor Ensigne could doe service. With the Trumpet was the signall given for the Campe to remove, for the Campe to lodge. By the Trumpet the Soldiers were taught their time to fight, their time to retreat. The Trumpet set and discharged the watch. From the Trumpet came the measure of the Marche, and the quickness, and slowness of Pace. In briefe, the Trumpet did all the offices that the Dromme doth with us at this day. Whether the Trumpet or Dromme, are of most use in the field, I may not now dispute. Only I will say that the Grecians and Romans the most expert and judicious Soldiers, that ever were, held themselves to the Trumpet, and never used the Dromme. The Dromme was first invented by Bacchus, who, as Polyenus reporteth, fighting against the Indians, in stead of Trumpets, gave the signall of Battails with Cymballs and Drommes. From him it came to the Indians, who used it altogether, as Curtius noteth in the battell betwixt King Alexander the Great, and Darius. The Dromme of Partians is described by Plutarch in the life of Craesus, and by Appian. And Leo saith, the Saracens, who invaded Christendome, and infected the Turkes with their superstition, ordered their fights by the Dromme. From this Easterne Asiaticall people it was brought into Europe; and now the generall custome is amongst all European Nations, that the foote have Drommes in the field, the horse Trumpets. And yet for the Trumpet, I can not say, that all the Grecians held themselves precisely unto it. Plutarch much commendeth the Lacedemonian manner of joyning with the enemy, and writeth it in this sort: When the King hath offered the Goate (that was the Lacedemonian sacrifice, when they were to give battaile) hee straight commands all the Army to crowne their heads, and the Flutes to sound the measure of the Cassor: And himselfe with all beginneth the Pean; (the song they used when they were to charge) and advanceth first against the enemy. So that it is a braue, and no lesse careful thing to behold them pacing according to the measure of the Flutes: neither dissolving their order, nor shewing any astonishment of minde, but mildly, and joyfully approaching the danger of conflict, dividing out their Marche to the sound of the instrument. For it is not likely, that men so demeaning themselves, can be transported with feare, or choler. Nay rather they must needs have a settled minde full of hope, and assurance, as if God were present on their side: thus Plutarch.

Out of whose words it is cleare, that the Lacedemonians used no Trumpets in fight, but Flutes, and made them their instruments to dance, as it were, the measures of warre by. For they used an esile, and slow pace, framed to the cadence of the sound; which may well be resembled to the solemn measure, in dancing. Athenæus rehearseth out of Herodotus, that the Lydians used the like. But he addeth, that the Cretans made choice of the Harpe for their instrument of warre; as though it had beene peculiar to that nation. Paulanius testifieth the like of the Lacedemonians. Polybius saith not so farre, but affirmeth only that the Cretans, and Lacedemonians in stead of Trumpets brought in Flutes, and measures into the warre. And if it were so that the Lacedemonians used Harpes, it is like, they took them from the Cretans. For I finde

b Polyen lib 1.
in Baccho § 11.

c Curtius lib 8.
p 15.

d Plutarch in
Craeso.

e App. in Part.
sacris 143.

f C. D.
§ 113.

g Leo cap. 18.
p 119.

h Plutarch in
Lythago.

i Herodotus
lib 2. c. 101.

k Theophrastus
lib 4. c. 10.

l Polyen lib 1.
in Prodr. § 11.

m Athenæus
dispositio lib 13.
c. 179.

n Paulan. in
Lacedem. 191.

o Polyen lib 1.
c. 189.

in Plutarch, that Lycurgus brought many of his lawes from Crete, and had great familiarity with Thales the Cretan, whom he also sent to Lacedemon, to make an overture for the establishing of his lawes, that were then newly finished. Yet Diodorus Siculus reporteth, that the Lacedemonians used also Trumpets in their Battails. The writing of a fight that was betwixt the Thebans, and Lacedemonians under the leading of Agellius, when these warres in effect: There was a strong fight betwixt them a long time, and at first Agellius had the better; but afterward, when the Thebans issued out of the City at all hands, Agellius seeing the multitude, caused the Trumpet to sound a retreat. The signe of retreat here, was given by Trumpets, and it seemeth the Lacedemonians had the use both of Trumpet, and Flute. Of the Flute in putting toward the enemy to issue battails, of the Trumpet in all other military signalls, such (I have before noted) as the rest of the Grecians gave by Trumpet. The place of the Trumpet in the time of the Battaille was within the Phalange by the Ensigne. Thucydides placeth the Flutes of the Lacedemonians within the battaille, where they can finde no room, unless they stand by the Ensignes. And albeit Polienus saith, the Flute led the Army, and went before, yet that is to be understood in the marche. For in case of a Marche, or exercise, Leo also giueth the Trumpet place by the Captaine in front. When the fight commeth, he retireth himselfe to his place in the Battaille with the rest.

9 A Sergeant.] The word Hyperetes signifieth a Minister, (which is all one with the French word Sergeant, as appeareth by the interpretation of our Law it selfe, wherein the Sergeants, next degree to Iustices, are called serientes ad legem. I reuene therefore the name of Sergeant, because it is familiar amongst soldiers. A Sergeant hath the same office in our Warre that Hyperetes had amongst the Grecians. What his duty and service should be, is declared out of Suidas. There were of these officers, as well among the horse, as the foote, as appeareth in Xenophon. The estimation and worth of their places is expressed by the same Xenophon. Cyru held the Sergeants in warre, with be, worthy of no lesse honour, than messengers, and Embassadors in peace. He conceived that they ought to be trusty, skilfull in matter of warre, understanding, quick, swift, industrious, and void of feares: besides endued with all qualities requisite in the best sort of men; & that they were to accomfome themselves to refuse no manner of service, but willingly vndergo whatsoeuer is laid vpon them by their Commanders. These Sergeants attended their Commanders in Marches, and other times, (save onely when Battaille was to be fought, and alwaies expected his command. During the fight, they retired to some place, where they might bee ready at call; for (as I said before) they could haue no place in front.

10 A Crier.] Concerning the office of a Crier, Suidas hath taught us, that he was to deliver the Commanders pleasure by voice. Leo calleth him Mandator, from the Latine word, because he signified to the soldiers, Mandata, the commandments of the Captaine. In exercise he stood at the head of the Troupe, taking from the Commander the words of direction, and making, as it were, proclamation of them to the Soldiers; and served often, when neither Trumpet nor signall might be given; he was otherwise also of great use. For in all busines whi required distinct signification of any sudden alteration in the Armie, the Crier had his part done. Xenophon telleth him the Grecians returne out of Persia, that Clearchus their General led them not against the enemy, both because their courages began to fall, and yet because they were all the day fasting, and it grew somewhat late. But after hee turned not out of the way, lest he might seeme to flee; but holding on right forward, he came with the

vanguard

Plutarch in
Lythago.

a Diodorus
lib 17. c. 475.

b Polyen lib 1.
in Prodr. § 11.

c Thucydides
lib 2. c. 101.

d Polienus lib 1.
in Prodr. § 11.

e Leo cap. 18.
p 119.

f Thucydides
lib 2. c. 101.

g Polienus lib 1.
in Prodr. § 11.

h Leo cap. 18.
p 119.

i Suidas in
Eclatlos.

j Xenophon
Cyrop lib 7.
c. 101.

k Xenophon
Cyrop lib 2.
c. 44.

l Suidas in
Eclatlos.

m Xenophon
Cyrop lib 7.
c. 101.

n Xenophon
Cyrop lib 2.
c. 44.

o Suidas in
Eclatlos.

p Xenophon
Cyrop lib 7.
c. 101.

q Xenophon
Cyrop lib 2.
c. 44.

r Suidas in
Eclatlos.

s Xenophon
Cyrop lib 7.
c. 101.

t Xenophon
Cyrop lib 2.
c. 44.

u Suidas in
Eclatlos.

v Xenophon
Cyrop lib 7.
c. 101.

w Xenophon
Cyrop lib 2.
c. 44.

x Suidas in
Eclatlos.

y Xenophon
Cyrop lib 7.
c. 101.

z Xenophon
Cyrop lib 2.
c. 44.

aa Suidas in
Eclatlos.

ab Xenophon
Cyrop lib 7.
c. 101.

ac Xenophon
Cyrop lib 2.
c. 44.

ad Suidas in
Eclatlos.

ae Xenophon
Cyrop lib 7.
c. 101.

af Xenophon
Cyrop lib 2.
c. 44.

ag Suidas in
Eclatlos.

ah Xenophon
Cyrop lib 7.
c. 101.

vanguard, to the next Villages by sun-set, & there quartered; The very timber of the houses of some of those Villages was broken downe, and carried away by those of the Kings armie. The first therefore lodged themselves reasonably, the last being be-nighted every man tooke vp his lodging as it seemed, and made a great noise, calling one after another, so that the enemies heard it. Whereby it came to passe, that the next of themselves out of their tents. This appeared the next day, for neither was there carriage-beast, nor Campe, nor smooke neere at hand to be seene. The King also was terrified as it should seeme, with the access of the Armie. Which he declared by the next daies worke. Yet in the proceesse of night a feare seafed the Græcians themselves; and the tumult, and hubbub was such, as is wont, when men are possessed with feare. Clearchus in this distresse commanded to *himselfe the Elan*, in whom hee then bad with him, the best Crier of those times after silence, to make proclamation, that the Commanders signified generally, that whosoever could bring forth the Author of this tumult should haue a talent of silver for his paines. After this proclamation made by the Crier the Souldiers perceived, that their feare was vaine, and that the Commanders were in safety: Heirthe Xenophon. By which narration may appeare, that the Crier performed that, which neither Trumpet nor other signall could doe, the terror rising in the night (in which is the time of confusion and disorder) and neither could the Trumpet giue any certaine sound to remedy the perill, nor any other signall be discerned by reason of the darkness; and this service was done by the Crier amongst his owne folke. His service against the enemy is declared in the fact of Cleocritus the Athenian Crier who after the fight, betwixt Thrasybulus and the 30. Tyrants (wherein Critias and Hippomachus were slaine) with a proclamation to the Citizens, reconciled them to Thrasybulus, and was cause that the Tyrants were deposed, and had their authoritie abrogated by the people. The like service was done by a Crier in the behalfe of the Græcians against the Perians, about the time of the battaile of Platæa. The storie is this: When the Græcians vnder the conduct of Leontichides, the Lacedæmonian, and Xanthippus the Athenian, had gathered a fleet of 250. Gallies together to the end to deliuer the Islanders, and the Cities of the Continent of Asia the lesse, out of the seruitude of the Persians, they failed out of Delos. The Persians then remained at Samos. But hearing of the approach of the Græcians, they left Samos, and put ower to Myale a City of Ionia. And because they perceived their shippes vnfit for fight, they drew them on land, and fortified the place, where they landed, with a wooden wall, and a deepe trench. Neuerthelesse they sent for foote forces, from Sardes, and other the next Cities, and assembled to the number of 100000 men; And made provision for all things necessarie for warre, the rather, because they suspected the Ionians would revolt. Leontichides hauing pur his fleet in order, sailed towards the Barbarians, that were in Myale, and dispatched away before a shippe, wherein was a Crier, who had the shrillest voice in all the Armie. Him he commanded to saile vp close to the enemy, and to proclaime aloude, that the Græcians hauing ouercome the Persians at Platæa, were now come thither to deliuer and set free the Græcians Cities of Asia. This was done by Leontichides to the end to disfeuer the Asian Græcians from the Barbarians, and to raise a tumult in the enemies Campe. Which also came to passe. What service could be of more importance, then to set a diuision betwixt the enemies? It was done by the voice of a Crier. More examples I could addesse, but these may suffice. The Criers place was alwaies to attend the Commander in the head of the Troupes, vntil the time of fight; at which time his voice could not be heard but gave place to the noise of Trumpets and discharging of Armes.

a About a 126
pounds flaring
Tot. Poli lib. 9.
cap. 6. § 437.

b Xenoph.
Hittor. Græc.
lib. 2. § 74.

c Diodor. Sic.
lib. 11. § 60.

11 A Tetragonall forme] That is of foure equall sides, or foure square; But we must vnderstand (which Eliau after teacheth) that there are two kinds of Tetragonall, or square bodies military, one in number, the other in figure. In number, when the front, and flanke: of the body haue either of them as many Souldiers, as others, as the Synagma hath 16. in front, and 16. in flanke. In figure, when the flanke stretch out an equall length of ground; as in the squares of horse, whereof Eliau speaketh: 1. h. rafter. This last square is as this day called a square of ground, because the space of ground, which containeth the length of the front, stretcheth out as fully as far as the space of ground, which containeth the depth of the flanke. It is caused by the difference of distance, which is betwixt the Souldiers in front, and betwixt the Souldiers in flanke. In front, being closed to fight, the distance betwixt Souldier, and Souldier, is but a cubit; this is a foote, and a halfe. The distance betwixt souldier, and souldier, in flanke, is twice as much, or three foote, which proportion will giue no more, then halfe so many men in flanke, as in front, and yet maintaine the truenesse and euenesse of the sides of the figure; that is the length of the line, which mesureth the front, and flanke, shall be all one.

12 A Pentecostiarchie] The word is a command of 500, and that was sometimes the number. In the Macedonian Phalange, it comprehendeth a 512 men. The cause of difference is the difference betwixt the file of the Macedonians, and the file of the ancient Græcians (whereof I haue spoken before) the odd 12 men coming in by the fifth doubling of 16. And the number being 500, though somewhat above, the name of Pentecostiarchie is still retained, because it was then in vse, and no other more fit could be found.

13 A Chiliarchie] The command of 1000 men according to the name; Eliau giueth it a 1024, from the doubling of 512. The Tribunes of the Roman Legion are by the Greeke Historians termed Chiliarchs; yet is there a great difference; for the Chiliarchs haue no more command, then ouer their Chiliarchy consisting of 1000 men, and sometimes of more, as here in Eliau of 1024. But every Tribune had in his turne the command of the whole Legion. And againe there being 12 Tribunes, to every Legion (which as first had in it 5000, afterward 4000, then 3500, and in the time of Vegetius 6000 men) he should haue a Tribune called a Chiliarch and be a Leader of a thousand, there being in the Legion but 6000 men at the most, and yet 12 Tribunes; so that every one could not haue, about 500 for his command; as in Polybius time, (the Legion being but 4200) not about 300 and adde. But the Roman manner of warre and ordering of troupes, differed much from the Græcians; and the Græcians in rearming a Tribune a Chiliarch, took the next word, and most significant amongst them to expresse the charge of a Tribune. Our Coronells, for their command, of a Regiment come neerer to the Græcian Chiliarchs; yet aars differ in that they haue Companies in their owne Regiments, which the Græcian Chiliarchs had not; and where Q. Curtius saith that a Quint. Cur. the Chiliarchy was first instituted at Babylon by Alexander, as a reward for service, lib. 5. 106. it seemeth to be otherwise. For as I finde this in no other Author, so finde I, that Chiliarchs were long before Alexanders time. Xenophon reporteth, that Cyrus to encourage ment to his Souldiers to be valiant, promised to the Taxiarchs to make them Chiliarchs, to the Lochagi to make them Taxiarchs, to the Decarches to make them Lochagi, to the Pempadarchs to make them Decarchs; and that Cyrus made Chrysanthes a Chiliarch of horse in regard of his worth, and forwardnesse in service. Xenoph. Cy. cap. lib. 4. 88 B. And afterward he calleth Phranuchus, and Asiadatas, Chiliarchs of horse, and Artabulus and Artageras Chiliarchs of foote: Polyenus witnesseth that in Iphicra: b Polyen. lib. 3. 10. at this time the Athenians had Chiliarchs, and Pentecostiarchs, so that the institution

Eliau cap. 18.

a Platarch. in
Romulo.
b Salsut in
Turribus.
c Veget. lib. 2.
cap. 2.

d Quint. Cur.
lib. 5. 106.

e Xenoph. Cy.
lib. 2. 43.
f Xenoph. Cy.
cap. lib. 4.
88 B.

g Polyen. lib. 3.
10.

The Tactics

	Dilochites	512.
	Tetrarchs	256.
	Taxiarchs	128.
So then <i>Ælian</i> hath in his Phalange	Synagmarchs	64.
of armed (besides the two Diphlangarchi) 1020. Officers.	Penecosiarchs	32.
	Chiliarchs	16.
	Merarchs	8.
	Phalangarchs	4.
		1020.

I have set downe the figures of all the bodies described by Ælian as farre, as the Phalangarchy. The rest would have bene troublesome to insert as requiring more paper, then would stand with any reasonable proportion; neither are they greatly needfull. For two Phalangarchies ioyned in an euen front, and in a convenient distance, will figure out a Diphlangarch; foure in an euen front with a like distance will make the fourefold Phalange. So that thereby the forme of it will appeare.

The precedence, and dignitie of place in the offices of the Phalange.

CHAP. X.

THE best of the Phalange Commanders is placed on the right wing, the second on the left wing, the third in valour in the right hand next the second Phalange toward the middle section. The fourth on the left hand next the first Phalange toward the middle section likewise. So the first and fourth Phalange have Commanders of the first, and fourth worth: The second and third Phalange have Commanders of the second and third worth. Now wee will shew by demonstration, that the first, and fourth worth, and valor, are equal to the second, and third; So that the Commanders in each wing are of valor alike.

The Leaders also of the severall Tetrarchies are thus disposed. The first hath his place in the head of the first Phalange on the left hand: The second on the right hand of the second Phalange: The third on the left hand of the third Phalange: The fourth on the right hand of the fourth Phalange. Also the Leaders of files in every 1 tetrarchy are so placed, that the Leader of the first file hath preeminence in valor and place; the Leader of the fourth file standeth next him: Then the Leader of the third file, and the Leader of the second file last. For then are Dilochites of equal valor when the first Dilochite hath the first, and fourth Leaders, the second Dilochite the second, and the third Leaders in valor and reputation. For it appeareth in the Mathematics, that, when there are Analogies, or answerable proportions of foure magnitudes propounded, that which ariseth of the first, and fourth, will counteruaile that, which ariseth of the second, and third magnitude. And because there are foure Tetrarchies in every Synagma, wee may giue the Leaders of the Tetrarchies place according to the same proportion, as to place the 1 tetrarch of the first 1 tetrarchy on the right hand giuing him the first place of worth on his left hand: the Tetrarch of the fourth 1 tetrarchy in the fourth place of worth. Then againe next him the Tetrarch of the third 1 tetrarchy in the third place of worth, and on his left

of Ælian.

left hand the Tetrarch of the second 1 tetrarchy in the second place of worth. In like manner as the greater commands also to be proportioned.

Notes.

The former Chapter was of the Officers and of the bodies of the Phalange; this is of the place of every one, according to his worth. And first wee are to note, that all the Commanders were placed in front of these, that they commanded; so the end they might direct, and lead them as occasion should require. For ^a Xenophon saith of Cyrus army, the Decadarchs, or file Leaders, had care of the files, the Lochages of the Decadarchs, the Taxiarchs of the Lochages, the Chiliarchs of the Taxiarchs, the Myriarchs of the Chiliarchs: So in the Phalange of Ælian the file Leader had the command of his file, the Dilochites of the file Leader, the Tetrarchs of the Dilochites, the Taxiarchs of the Tetrarchs, and so the rest, till you come to the Generall, who cared for all, directed all, and under whom all the Commanders were. ^b The Generall hath bene placed sometimes in the right wing, sometimes in the middle of the Phalange. ^c Vegetius saith, that the Generall of the Armie is accustomed to be in the right wing betwixt the horse, and the foote. Hee addeth, this is the place, which governeth the whole battaile, from whence the salying out is most direct, and free. Therefore he standeth betwixt both, that hee might both gouerne horse, and foote with counsell, and with authority exhort them to fight. ^d Cyrus in his battaile against Croesus, took his place in the right wing, betwixt the right hand point of the battaile, and of the horse, that were ranged in the wing; Alexander the great, in his battailes took the same place. ^e Timoleon in his fight against the Carthaginians placed himselfe in the middle of the battaile. ^f Diodorus Siculus saith, that, it is the manner of the Scythians, that the King should stand in the middle of the Phalange. The like doth ^g Arrian affirme of the Persians, and saith, that Darius had that place. ^h Leo also giueth the middle of the battaile to the Generall. And there he placeth the battaile over which he would haue him to command.

The best of the Phalangers ⁱ This ordering of the Phalangarchs the best on the right hand wing, the second on the left, the third next him in the left wing on his right hand toward the middle section: The fourth in the right wing on the left hand of the first toward the middle section thus, 1 2 3 4, commeth out of a Geometrical proportion, which proportion giueth law to the ordering of the rest of the Commanders. The rule is this: 4. Magnitudes which equally exceede the one the other being compared together that which ariseth of the first, and fourth, is equal to that, which ariseth of the second, and third. As 2. 8. 14. 20. each exceedeth the other, 6. The addition of 2. to 2. begetteth an equal number to 8, and 14. added together, 20 is in all other numbers, that haue the same equallitie of excess one above another. Out of this rule of proportion, Ælian deriueth the ensuing equallitie of strength in the Leaders to every body in the Phalange. For Leaders and Commanders are (or ought at least to bee) chosen by worth, and valour: and the preferences of the field haue bene held the due reward of vertue. Say then the Phalangarchs are preferred to their places according to their worth, and that the first Phalangarch is most worthy, the second next him, the third next, the fourth least deserving of the fauor. If you should place them, as their worth is in a ranke successively one after another, the best before the first Phalangarchie in the right wing, the second before the next Phalangarchie in the same wing, and leaue the other two Phalangarchs to command the left wing, the disproportion would be great; the third and fourth not being able to match the worth of the first, and second.

^a Xenoph.
Cyrop. lib. 3.
85. C.
^b Xenoph.
Cyrop. lib. 8.
203. A.

^c Vegetius
lib. 3. cap. 18.

^d Xenoph.
Cyrop. lib. 7.
196. B.
^e Plutarch in
Timol.
lib. 20. 743.
^f Diod. Sicul.
lib. 20. 743.
^g Arrian. lib. 3.
36. C.
^h Leo cap. 4.
§ 65. & 67.
ⁱ & cap. 12. § 66.

But if you place the best Phalangarch before the first Phalangarchie on the right wing, the second before the second Phalangarchie of the left wing, the third Phalangarch next him before the third Phalangarchie on the left wing, toward the middle Section; the fourth before the fourth Phalangarchie of the right wing toward the same Section, the valours of the Commanders, will be equal in both wings. For as in the number 1. 2. 3. 4. one and 4. make 5, as many, as is made by joining 2 and 3 together 5, so the worth of the fourth Phalangarch joined to the worth of the first will arise as high in true valuation, as the worth of the second and third joined together. And where the Phalangarchie on the left corner of the left wing is called the second, and the next Phalangarchie standing in the same wing the third; it is to be understood that it is second in dignity, not in succession of number; for the fourth Phalangarchie in dignity stands in place and number next the first; and the second Phalangarchie hath the last place of the whole Phalange. Their places then are after this manner according to Elian.

2 f 3 g 4 e a i

b c d

For the understanding hereof, you are to note, that

- a signifieth the first Phalangarchie.
- b the second Phalangarchie.
- c the third Phalangarchie.
- d the fourth Phalangarchie.
- e the Section of the right wing.
- f the Section of the left wing.
- g the middle Section.
- i the place of the first Phalangarch.
- 2 the place of the second Phalangarch.
- 3 the place of the third Phalangarch.
- 4 the place of the fourth Phalangarch.

2 The Leaders of the Merarchies] As the Phalangarchs so are all the other Commanders of the [several] bodies placed by foure, and the same observation to be had, of the dignities of the place, that was in the Phalangarchs: and these 4 Merarchies (for Elian speaketh of no more than 4) must stand thus.

P M M P P M M P

2 2 3 3 4 4 1 1

P, standeth for Phalangarchs.
M, for Merarchs.

Robertellus confesseth he findeth these Merarchs so placed in a written booke, and it is the true placing. The figures, he setteth downe out of his owne wit (as he termeth it) carry with them no favour of Elians proportion. Patricius likewise seemeth to have mistaken this proportion in the figures he hath set downe, of which not one is right. I will referre the Reader to their bookes, admonishing him onely of the mistaking. But Elian placeth here but 4 Merarchs; what order shall be for the other foure? I have alwaies thought Elian defective in this place; neither could I hitherto finde any man, that hath brought light to cleare the doubt. Patricius that purposely discourseth of this place of Elian

Elian, speaketh of bestowing 4 Merarchs onely, as though the rest were to be throwne away from the Phalange. Robertellus seeking to bestow all 8, bestoweth them indeed, but not according to Elians proportion, which notwithstanding he would seeme to follow. His figure is this.

P. M. M. M. M. P. P. M. M. M. M. P.

1. 8. 4 3. 6. 3 4. 5. 2 1. 7. 2.

The right wing The Middle The left wing.

The proportion is this, as I said, and not Elians. For Elian placed the first Merarch in the right wing; he placeth him in the left; Elian the second in the second Phalangarchie, he in the fourth; Elian the third in the left wing, he in the right; Elian the fourth in the fourth Phalangarchie, he in the first. The rest are so jumbled together, as though any thing else had been sought for, rather than proportion. I take not upon mee to over-rule any doubt, but if amongst the rest I entere mine opinion, I hope, I shall not incurre just blame. Thus then: seeing Elians meaning is by evenesse and worth of number of both wings to finde out the worth of the Commanders of both, if I so distribute them, that the number of the one side shall counterbalance the number of the other, I cannot much stray from Elians meaning. The figure following will doe it.

P. M. M. M. M. P. P. M. M. M. M. P.

1. 5. 1 4. 8. 4 3. 7. 3 2. 6. 2.

The right wing The Middle The left wing.

In this figure I have observed precisely the place, that Elian gave to the 4 Merarchs. The first standeth on the left hand of the first Phalangarch; the second on the right hand of the second Phalangarch; the third on the left hand of the third Phalangarch; the 4th on the right hand of the 4th Phalangarch. The rest I have added, and divided according to the placing of the first: So that the number that ariseth of the addition of both wings, is alike, and the proportion held. In all the rest of the bodies, where there is a Command over 4, the keeping of the proportion hath no difficulty. So every Phalangarch commandeth over 4 Chiliarchs; every Merarch over 4 Pentecostarchs; every Chiliarch over 4 Syntagmatarchs; every Pentecostarch over 4 Taxiarchs; every Syntagmatarch over 4 Tetrarchs; every Taxiarch over 4 Diloches; every Tetrarch over 4 files; In all which the Commander, which hath the right, hath the first place, he that hath the point of the left hand, the second place; he that standeth on the right hand next to him, the third place; the last place is his, who standeth next to the Commander of the right point on the left hand. And for the place of the Phalangarchs, and of 4 of the Merarchs, and the file-leaders, and of the Tetrarchs, they are laid out by Elian. The rest appeare by these, and are to be squared by the same rule of proportion, as Elian admonished.

The whole wing.

File-leader	3
5	7
1	3
4	8
8	6
4	8
2	3

The Merarchs alone.

5	7
1	3
4	8
8	6
4	8
2	3

The

The distances to be observed betwene Souldier and Souldier in opening and shutting the Phalange.

CHAP. XI.

WE are now to speake of *distances* both in length, and depth betwixt Souldier, and Souldier, as they stand ordered in Battaille. The *distances* vary in three sorts. For first they are placed in thinner distance for some special causes. And a Souldier so placed taketh vp ¹ 4 cubits. But in ² *Denfation* or *closing* he taketh vp 2 cubits. ³ In *Constipation* or *Shutting* one cubit.

Denfation then, or *closing* is, when we draw wide distances close together, and by *side-men*, and *followers* (that is both in *length* and *depth*) gather vp the bodie of the *Phalange*: so notwithstanding that the souldier yet hath libertie to moue, and turne about.

Constipation, or *shutting* is when the *Phalange* by *side-men* gathereth it selfe yet closer together, then in *Denfation*; so that by reason of the nearnesse there is left no *Declination*, or turning of faces either to the right, or left hand.

The use of *Closing* is, when the *Generall* leadeth the *Phalange* against the enemy. Of *Shutting* when he would haue it stand fast (and as it were *locked up*, and *served*) to receiue the charge of the enemy.

Seeing then there are 1024 *File-leaders* in the front of the *Phalange*, it is plain that ⁴ in their ordinary array they take vp in length 4096 *Cubits* (that is ten furlongs, and ninetie six cubits) In *Closing* five furlongs, and forty eight cubits. In *Shutting* two furlongs, a halfe, and fower and twenty cubits.

Notes.

AFTER Souldiers are armed, and distributed into bodies military, the next care is to be had of their Mouing. For as a man, let him be neuer so well proportioned, and strong, if he pace disorderly, and either sit too great strides, or reele here, and there, or so mince, and tread out his steps, as if his legge were bound together, groweth hereby deformed, and not onely loseth his comelinesse, but his activitie withall, and possibility to performe any thing wth strength: So is it of an Armie, that hath either too great distances, or is thronged up, or pressed too close together. ^a Too much thronging bindeth, as it were, the souldiers hands, and taketh away the use of his weapons, as on the other side ^b falling one loose from another, and standing or mouing too farre asunder, maketh the Battaille weak, and disoriented, and subiect to the enemies entry, and easie to be broken. The meane betwixt both was brought in by King Philip, King of Macedonia, who first constituted, and raised the Macedonian Phalange, and invented the distances of opening and closing the same; imitating the ^c setting of Targets (called Synaspismos) practised by the old Heroes at Troy. Out of his discipline sprang the distances mentioned here by Aelian: which are of three sorts; The first are large distances of

1 Four Cubits Which amount to six fote. For a Cubit containeth a fote, and a halfe. This distance was vsed in marching, or else in solemn pompes and heues. And the souldier hauing a pike of ^d 14 Cubits or 21 long, whereof one halfe lay forward on his souldier, and the other halfe backward, it was requisite he should haue a reasonable large distance both in file and ranke, ^e to the end, that in turning this way or that

1759,

The first distance ordinary of fote in file armuch in ranke

The Reare

The second distance called fote in file armuch in

^a Caesar de bel. gall. lib. 3.
^b Plutarch. in Philopemene.

^c Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. 511.

^d Polyb. lib. 13. 64. C.

^e Leo cap. 17. 5. 61.

^f Polyb. lib. 17. 74. A.

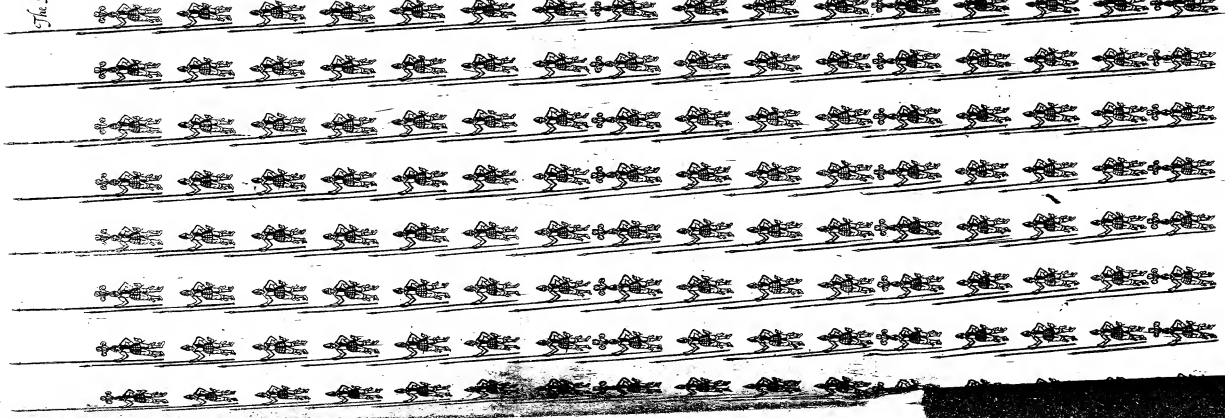
^g Leo cap. 7. 5. 14.

U. S. Cavalry
No. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

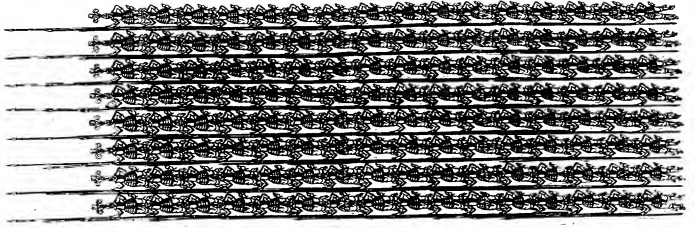
Cap. 11.

The first distance, ordinary & face
in file, arm and in rank.

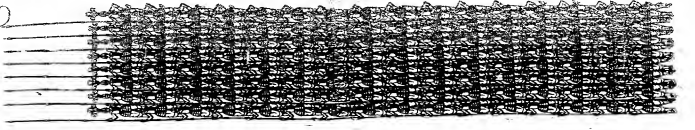
The Rank



The second distance, called Company
face in file, arm and in rank.



The third distance, called Battalion
face in file, arm and in rank.



The front

way, or that way, or moving out of his place (for no man in it is marche can always be: all is ranke) he offeinded not his next neighbours therewith. This distance our exercise at this day calleth open order. The next distance is of

Two Cubits] Or three foote. The name of it in Greeke is Pycnoſis, that is thickning. In Leo it is called Sphinxis, (knitting together) in our moderne exercise Order. And it is, when from the distance of 6 foote, we draw our Phalange both by file, and ranke, so close, that the souldiers stand but 3 foote one from in other eury way. This distance is used, when the Army approacheth neare to the enemy (and onely cometh not to charge) that it may be ready to stout, and locke it selfe for the charge, which is performed in the last distance of

One Cubit] A foote and a halfe. This is called Synaspismos, ioyning Targets to Target. For, as I before shewed, the pikemen of the Macedonians eschew Targets with their pikes, and in charging the enemy closed so neare in front, that their owne Targets touched one another. This kind of fight the Ægyptians used in Xenophon (which is called by the Persians. The Parthian horse likewise comming to charge Crassus with their staves: ^a Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 7. 17^b. A. 17. is called by Thucydides, Seneſſis, Thucyd. lib. 5. 193. ^b Appian in Parthos. 1. 44. A. 104. D. C. 1. Diod. Sicul. lib. 17. 575. After they perceived the depth of the locking of Targets, and the settlednesse, and stedfastnes of the Roman Phalange, they retired, and durst not come to hands with them. And Diodorus Siculus writes that Alexander besieging the City of Halicarnassus, there was in the City, and in service of Darius one Ephialtes an Athenian, a man of great valour, and strength of body; He by the permission of Memnon Generall of Darius Armie, determined to make a sally. And taking to him 2000 mercenarie souldiers, all chosen men, and giuing brands flaming with fire to one halfe, and reseruing the rest for fight, he opened the gates, and fell out, throwing fire vpon the engines of battery, which soone caught a mighty flame; And marshalling the rest into a thicke and deepe Phalange, himselfe led on, and was the first that fell on the Macedonians coming to aide, and to quench the fire. Alexander aduertised hereof speeded to the medley; & ordered first the Macedonians in front, after them other choice men, for seconds; and in the third place men of extraordinary account for their prowesse, himselfe leading them on sustained the enemy, which seemed vnersistible, and sent others to flake, and put out the fire, and to preferue the Engines. The fight was hot, and albeit the Macedonians found meanes to quench the fire, yet had Ephialtes the better in the fight; who both himselfe killed many with his owne hands, and the towers from the walls furnished with many Catapults annoyed greuously the Macedonians. In so much that some falling in the place, other some forsaking their ground by reason of the number of Engine Darts that fell thicke amongst them, Alexander himselfe was reduced to extremitie. Here the old souldiers of the Macedonians, although otherwise freed from such seruice in regard of their age, hauing of a long time followed the warres with King Philip, and gained many a battaile, were by this occasion tolled out to succour; and as they excelled the yonger sort in greatnes of spirit, and military experience, so meeting with the run-a-waies, they bitterly reuiled, and taunted them for their cowardice; Then * ferring themselves close, and ioyning their Targets together, they repressed, and held the enemy short, who now seemed to haue the victory in his hands. Finally killing Ephialtes, and many other, they droue the rest into the City. A memorable seruice of the use of Targets, and of the Synaspisme of the Macedonians, which was not used, but when they either gave vpon, or received the charge of the enemy. And the Targets so knit together served for a wall (as it were) to the whole Phalange, and by them the souldier

* Synaspismos

was defended from the misue weapon of the enemy, and his body covered even from the piercing of the sword. Synapismos then, or shutting, is it at distance in the Phalange, which bringeth the soldiers Target to touch one another and is limited by Elian to a cubit (that is a foote and a halfe) betwixt side-men and side-men in the front. What distance the followers should have, Elian setteth not here do ne in plain words, but implies, that they should hold their 3 foote still in that he saith the Phalange in conjunction gathereth the side-men closer, then in desolation, but speaketh nothing of followers. ^a Polybius teacheth in more plainly; who gives them three foote distance from the Leader, both according to the Macedonian and Roman discipline, and that for the use of their armes: with teacheth in more plainly; who gives them three foote distance from the Leader, both according to the Macedonian and Roman discipline, and that for the use of their armes: with

^a Polyb. lib. 17. 744. A.

^b Elian. c. 14. where Elian also greeketh afterward.

^c See Polyb. lib. 11. 664. C. I. c. cap. 17. 591.

4 In ordinary array foure thousand cubits] The Phalange in open order, saith Elian, takes up 4096 cubits of ground. This is to be understood in front, or length; for in depth it hath no more, then 64 cubits; every soldier (which are in number, 16 in file) possessing 4 cubits of ground in his open order; 4 cubits is the part of the arme, which reacheth from the elbow to the middle fingers end, and is as much, as a foote and a halfe. In front then, there being 1024 File-leaders, we must allett to each of them foure cubits of ground; to the thousand 4000 cubits, and to the odd twentie foure 96 cubits. For foure times twentie foure makes 96, which together comes to 4096 cubits, and to six thousand one hundred fortie foure foote.

^d Suidas in Pictura.

^e Suidas ibid. 17. 592.

5 Ten furlongs and ninty six cubits] Where this space is squared out by tenne furlongs, we must understand, that a furlong contains 4 foure hundred cubits, and 4096 being divided by 400 the quotient is 10: that is ten furlongs and 96 cubits, as Elian saith. Which measure of ground the Phalange of Armed taketh in open Order. Of these furlongs, 7 seven and a halfe go to a mile, by which account the front of the Phalange of armed in open order taketh up one mile, a quarter, and 346 cubits, measuring it by feete it amounts to 6130. In closing (which is named Order, and is the next distance) because the soldier is allowed but 2 cubits, that is halfe so much, as in open order, the dimension will not exceede five furlongs, 48 cubits; that is 2048 cubits in all, which amounts to halfe a mile, halfe a quarter, and 173 cubits, in feete, 3072. In shutting 2 furlongs and a halfe, and 24 cubits; that is a quarter of a mile and 274 cubits.

The arming of the Phalange,

CHAP. XII.

The Phalange is to be armed with Target and Pike. The best Target is the Macedonian Target made of brasse, and somewhat hollow, and having 3 eight handfulls in Diameter. The Pike ought to be 4 no shorter then 8 cubits; and the longest no longer, then a man may well vie and wield in handling.

Notes.

In the second Chapter of this booke is handled the diversitie of armes, used in the Phalange. This setteth forth the choice, that is to be made for matter and fashion, and what

what sife is best of pike and target. For the other armor of the armed (whereof I speake in my notes to the second Chapter) is no question to be fitted to the body of him, that shall be armed. He giueth then to the armed a target, and a pike, the targets the Macedonian target, the matter whereof was first of brasse. I haue shewed, that the Macedonian target was of brasse, and that they were called by reason of the bearing such targets Chalcapides brasse-targets. I am induced to thinke, that, as Philip borrowed many other things in warre from the Lacedemonians so he borrowed this kinde of target from them. For they by the ordinance of Lycurgus, were enjoined to haue no other matter for their target, then brasse. Xenophon giues a reason why they were made of brasse. For Lycurgus was of opinion, saith he, that such a Target was most fit for warre, because it is soone brought to shine, and it gathereth no rust easily, two great commodities in armes. For a beist the chiefest considerations be surenesse, and strength, yet it not the beauty to be neglected, which shining doth principally set out. Besides, that is dazleth the eye of the enemy, and strikes an amazement into his minde. Xenophon much admireth Ageilaus, that he so armed, and clothed his armie, that they seemed to be nothing, but brasse, and nothing, but scarlet. The brasse be speaketh of, were the brasse targets of his souldiers, which covered the most part of the body, and were chiefly the about of the eye, without that, that any other weapon was at that time of brasse. Therefore, as I said, I am of opinion that the brasse Target came from the Spartans to the Macedonians. The Brasse-targets Elian would haue

^b Plutarch. in Crafo. ^c Xenoph. in Ageilaus. 592. B.

2 Somewhat hollow] If they should beare straight out without any bowing, besides that they were uneasie, they would lie kicking out from the body, and not cover it much. The arme, or shoulder, that is inserted into the Target, is bowing. And the target somewhat bowing fits it for ease, and stoepeth more toward the body to cover it, and is more pliable to be carried. But the hollownesse ought not to be much. He would haue it also,

3 Eight hand-fulls in Diameter] The Diameter in a circle is a right line, which is drawne from one side of the circumference to the other passing thorough the Center, or middle point of the circle, dividing the circle in two equal parts. Here the Diameter of the target is taken for the exact breadth of the target, which ought to be, according to the Macedonian manner, eight handfulls, or two foote, that is 32 fingers. For foure handfulls go to a foote, and foure fingers to a handfull. Leo giues it three Spithames, that is 36 fingers, if he meane the great Spithame, which is of twelue fingers. And the lesse comprehending a handfull he cannot meane. For so should the breadth of the target be no more, but three handfulls, a breadth insufficient to cover any mans body. Whether of them is the better will appeare in triall. The Diameter that strakes to cover the bodie, from the upper part of the necke to the middle part of the thigh, is enough in these round targets. But, which is more, is rather troublesome, then fit for use. And I am of Iphicrates iudgement in targets, that performing the covering of the bodie, they should be as light, as may bee, least the shoulder be over-laden with unnecessary weight. In which regard I preferre the Target of Elian, before that of Leo; Elians reaching up to the height of the necke from the middle of the thigh; Leos carrying a handfull more in breadth, which in the circumference groweth to a good proportion of weight and greatnesse.

4 No shorter than 8 Cubits] That is 12 foote. Short pikes against long haue a great disadvantage. With the long pike a man is able to strike, and kill his enemy, before himselfe can be touched, or come in danger of a shorter, the pike keeping the enemy out so farre, as the length is. The experience of the battaile of Sorano, sheweth it, where Vitellozzo Vitelli discomfited the Almains onely with the advantage of pikes an arme longer than theirs. Against long pikes, this policie was used by Cleonymus the Lacedemonian King, as Polienus tells. Cleonymus besieging Adessa, and having over-

^a Patricius Pa. lib. 2. cap. 4. ^b Polien. lib. 2. cap. 8. ^c Polien. lib. 2. in Cleonym. 8. a.

throwne

throwne the wall of the City, the pikemen of the City sallied out, whose pikes were each 16 cubits in length. Cleonymus closed his *Phalange* in depth, and commanded the file-leaders to lay away their pikes; and when the pikemen of the enemy came to charge, to seaze vpon their pikes with both hands, and hold them fast, and the followers to passe thorough by the file-leaders sides, and maintaine the fight. The file-leaders laid hold on the pikes, and the enemy strove to recover them out of their hands. In the meane time, the followers passing thorough the ranke of file-leaders to the front, slew the enemies pikemen, and got the victorie. This was Cleonymus device against long pikes, which notwithstanding derogates nothing from the length of pikes more, than from shortnes. For the same policie might haue prevailed as well against short pikes, as long, each as soone as the enemies haue seized vpon them, growing to be of no vse. But that the longer pike is to be preferred before the shorter, I haue shewed before by reason: and the reformation of armes made by Iphicrates amongst the Athenians, and by Philopomen amongst the Achaians, will be warrant enough so to hold. In the length notwithstanding ought to be a reasonable consideration, that it exceede not the measure of his strength, that shall beare the pike.

*The worth that the File-leaders, and next followers
should be of*

CHAP. XIII.

THE File-leaders (as the Commanders of files of the *Phalange*) are to be the choice and flower of the Army, and to excell the rest as well in stature, as in experience and martiall skill. For this *Ranke* kniteth and bindeth in the *Phalange*, and of all other yeeldeth greatest vse. For, as a sword taking to the edge as a weight, and fway, the swelling yron towards the backe exhibiteth thereby more violence in piercing, so in a *Phalange* the *Ranke* of File-leaders is the edge it selfe, and the multitude of after-commers is the swelling, and fway, and increase of weight.

Consideration must be had likewise of those that follow in the second *Ranke*. For their *Pikes* reach ioyntly ouer the *front*, and being next in place they are alwaies ready for vse. And the *File-leader* falling, or being wounded, the next *follower* stepping to the *front* in his place, holdeth together, and preferueth the tenor of that *Ranke* vnbroken.

Furthermore, we are to order the third and the rest of the *Ranks* according to reason, and as the valour of our souldiers shall require.

THIS Chapter sheweth how the Souldiers are to be ordered in every File: whereof, because I haue before spoken sufficiently in my Notes to the fifth Chapter, and the words of this Chapter carry no difficultie, or obscuritie with them, I will forbear to treat any further.

CHAP. XIII.

Phalange.

1 The Macedonian *Phalange*, hath beene thought to be vnrefutable. The strength of the Macedonian *Phalange* appeareth no way better, than by the conquests it hath made. King Philip was the inventor of it; and by that invention raised the kingdom of Macedonia from the poorest, to the powerfullest, and greatest kingdom of Europe; and (that I may use the words of Diodorus Siculus) finding the Crowne of his comming to it, in bondage to the *Illyrians* made it afterward Lady of many great Nations, and Cities; and purchased to himselfe, to be declared Generall of Greece.

H

c Diod. Sicul.
lib. 16. § 10.

throwne the wall of the City, the pikemen of the City sallied out. whose pil-

Cap. 14.

Pikes reaching
over the Front

The Front

I THIS Chapter sheweth how the souldiers are to be ordered in every case: whereof, because I have before spoken sufficiently in my Notes to the fifth Chapter; and the words of this Chapter carry no difficulty, or obscurity with them, I will forbear to treat any further.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the strength of the Macedonian Phalange, and length of the souldiers Pikes.

CHAP. XIII.

THE ¹ Macedonian Phalange hath of enemies beene thought vnresistible, by reason of ² the manner of embattailing. For the souldier with his Armes standeth in close order, or shutting, when he is ready for fight, ³ occupying two Cubits of ground. And the length of his Pike is sixteene Cubits according to the first institution, but in truth it ought to be foureteene Cubits; whereof the ⁴ space betwixt the hands in charging taketh vp two Cubits, the other twelue lye out from the front of the Battaille. Those in the second Ranke, that stand next to the Leaders (looting foure Cubits in the Phalange) haue their Pikes reaching ouer the first Ranke ten Cubits. Those of the third Ranke eight Cubits, of the fourth Ranke six cubits, of the fifth 4 cubits, of the sixth 2 Cubits. ⁵ The Pikes of the other behind cannot attaine to the first Ranke. And seeing fūe or six pikes are charged ouer the first Ranke, they present a fearefull sight to the enemy, and double the strength of the souldier standing fortified, as it were, with fūe, or six Pikes, and seconded with a maine force at his backe, as the figure sheweth. Moreover they that are placed after the sixth Ranke, albeit they push not with their pikes, yet thrusting on with the weight of their bodies, r'enforce the strength, and power of the Phalange, and leaue no hope for the File-leaders to flie, or shift away. Some would haue the hinder pikes longer, then the foremost, that they of the third, and fourth Ranks might beare out the heads of their pikes equally with the first.

⁶ The Superordinary Lieutenant of euery Syntagma must be a man of vnderstanding, ouerseeing the souldiers of his command, that they file, and ranke; and if he see, or other occasion, any forsake their ground, he is to compell them againe to their places; and in Closing to put them (when neede requireth) as neare vp together, as they should stand. For it is a great strength, and assurance to the Phalange, to haue some principall Commander not onely in front, but also in the Reare of the Battaille, for the causes before mentioned.

Notes.

THE strength of the Macedonian Phalange, which consisted principally in the ¹ protection, and charging of pikes, and knitting together of Targets, is here ² Appian, in set downe. The whole Chapter seemeth to haue beene taken out of ³ Polybius, who hand- Syntacts 97 E. leth the same argument, and almost with the same words, but that Ælian, and he differ about the number of Cubits, which the Pikes take vp reaching ouer the front of the Phalange. ⁴ Polyb. lib. 17. 743 E.

⁵ The Macedonian Phalange, hath beene thought to be vnresistible] The strength of the Macedonian Phalange appeareth no way better, than by the conquests it hath made. King Philip was the inuenter of it; and by that inuention raised the kingdom of Macedonia from the poorest, to the powerfulllest, and greatest kingdom of Europe; and (that I may use the words of ⁶ Diodorus Siculus.) finding the Crowne, c Diod. Sicul. lib. 16. § 10. at his comming to it, in bondage to the Syrians made it afterward Lady of many great Nations, and Cities; and purchased to himselfe, to be declared Generall of Greece.

Greece. And first ouerthrowing the *Illyrians*, *Peonians*, *Thracians*, and *Scythians*, afterward tet upon the kingdom of *Perſia* to breake it, after he had enfranchiſed the *Græcian* Cities of *Aſia*. And albeit death intercepted him, yet he left ſuch forces to his ſonne *Alexander*, that he needed no other *Aides* to ouerthrow the Souerainety of *Perſia*. After his death ^a *Alexander* tooke his kingdom, and Armie, and with it encountering, and vanquiſhing *Darius* in two great Battails, runne thorough *Aſia* like a ſhaft of lightning venting a pieces all, that reſiſted, or ſtood in his way, and laid the foundation of that kingdom, which (albeit afterward diuided) continued long in his Succellors. Neither was the experience of their invincibleneſſe againſt the barbarous people onely, but as much againſt the *Græcians*, who till *Philips* time were eſteemed the chiefe maſters of Armes in Europe. This is cleare by the victories, the Macedonians obtaine againſt the renowned Cities of Greece both jointly and ſeverally. ^b Philip ouerthrow the *Phocians*, albeit the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Athenians* ioyned with them. The ſame ^c Philip at *Cheronza* defeated the power of the *Thebans*, and *Athenians* joyned together. ^d Alexander tooke and ſacked the Citie of *Thebes*, that about that time was accounted the mightieſt Citie of Greece. ^e His Lieutenant *Antipater* ſoyled the *Lacedæmonians* in a ſet battail, and ſlew their King *Agis*. ^f Antigonius Tutor of King Philip the ſonne of *Demetrius*, broke an Armie of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Peloponneſians* at *Selafia*, and chaſed out of Greece *Cleomenes* the laſt brave King of *Sparta*. Briefely they were not beaten in the field by any Nation, but onely by the Romans. And yet the iudgement of ^g Polybius, doth in this alſo proue it ſelfe good. For where the Romans had theſe victories againſt the Macedonians, he ſignifieth this to be the cauſe, that the Phalange at the time of the fight had not the proper place, nor meanes to vſe it owne power in the encounter; ſo long as the Phalange hath ground enough, and can meete the enemy with a right front, he holdeth it not poſſible to be ſoyled, being diuided, and in places uneven, he is of opinion, and experience hath taught, it may eaſily be put in a route. ^h Plutarch compareth it for ſtrength (ſo long as it is one bodie, and maintaineth the *Synapiſme* jointly) to an invincible beaſt; being diſſeuered, he ſaith, it looſeth the force in the whole, and in euery man particular; both in regard of the manner of arming, and alſo becauſe the violence of it conſiſts rather in knitting of all parts together, than in particular of any mans valour. Three battales (to pratermit diuers ſkirmiſhes,) I finde the Romans had with, and therein ſoyled the Macedonians; One againſt King Philip, the ſonne of *Demetrius*; an other againſt *Antiochus*, the third againſt *Perſeus* the ſonne of King Philip. ⁱ For I paſſe ouer thoſe, wherein they were beaten by *Pyrhus*, and had the worſt. ^j Philip breaking his Phalange, and not reſiſting the whole together, but fighting againſt the Romans with the right wing onely, yet had the better, and was too hard for that part of the Roman Army, that ioynd with him; but the other wing coming into the field, ſit rather for a march, than a fight, and not being able to order themſelves Phalange-wiſe, were ſome defeated, and the Roman victory, fell upon the reſt of the right wing (where Philip was, and had now gotten the victory) and ſo wonne the field. ^k Antiochus ſent his fall in true order of a Phalange, traſſed rather to his horſe, than his Phalange, and being to fight with *L. Scipio*, where he ſhould haue giuen full ſcope, and extended the front of the Phalange, by making it 16 deepe, he contrary wiſe narrowed it, drawing on the depth into 32: whereby he loſt the advantage of matching the front of the Romans, and after his horſe were beaten, gaue ſaſſuſite to the enemy of encloſing on it all ſides. ^l *Perſeus* ioyning battail with *Paulus* *Emilius*, as long as the Phalange continued in the right figure, ſlew many of the Romans, and forced them to retire, but following on too eagerly, he came to an

end

even, and rough ground, wherein the Phalange being diſſeuered, leſt places, and breaches for the Romans to enter and defeat it. So long then, as the Macedonian Phalange had ſit ground, and the right property of embattailing, it ſtood faſt againſt the Romans the greateſt ſouldiers that euer were, being in their hands, that knew not how to uſe it (as a ſword in the hands of a childe) it yielded to time and fortune. The cauſe of the ſtrength of the Phalange is aſſigned to be

2 The manner of embattailing] Which conſiſts principally in ordering of Targets, and pikes; in cloſing of the Targets by *Synapiſme*, and in joint charging of the pikes; which lying out thicke from the front, beſieſts the horror of the fight, ſine almoſt an impoſſibilitie to enter the Phalange. I haue alledged the iudgement of ^a *Emilius* concerning the fight preſented by a Phalange, when the Pikes lie ſo charged out of the front. ^b Polybius thinketh nothing can reſiſt the force thereof. ^c *Livy*, albeit many times more than partiall to the Romans, yet in the ſelfe ſame fight betwene *Perſeus* and *Emilius* giueth his iudgement thus of the Phalange: The ſecond Legion (ſaith he) inlinuated it ſelfe into the middle empty place, and ſo broke aſunder the Phalange. Neither was there any more euident cauſe of victory, then the fights in diuers places at once, which firſt troubled the Phalange in turning many waies, and afterward plainly diſioynted, and ſcattered it, whoſe forces being vnited and rough with charged pikes are intollerable. If by giuing on in diuers places you conſtrain it to bring about the pikes immoucheable through length and weight, it entangleth it ſelfe with conſuſed croſſings. If at one time you charge it both flanke, and reare, they fall aſunder like a ruinous building. As then they were compelled many waies to anſwer the Romans, and ſo to breake their battail into many parcells. And the Romans vpon the firſt opportunitie of a breach ſtraight waies conueighed in their troups, who if they had met the enemy in front, had runne vpon the pikes, as in the beginning it hapned to the *Pelignans*, being too forward to come to hand, and could not haue reſiſted the Phalange faſt thru, and ſerued vpon the encounter: thus *Livy* concerning the Phalange. ^d Who albeit a Roman, holdeth the ſame opinion that Polybius doth. ^e And in another place telling of *Philips* encamping, he ſaith, he was lodged in a woody plot, which was vnfit for the Phalange, eſpecially of the Macedons, which vnleſt it caſt the pikes, as it were, an muniment before the Targets, (and that cannot be, but in open ground) is of no great vſe. So then if Pikes may be charged out before the targets, the Phalange is of great vſe. But, that I may not ſeeme to rely vpon bare opinion, let vs heare by an example, or two, the experience of the Pike, and Target of the Macedonian againſt the Roman armes. ^f When *T. Quintus* *Flaminius* the Roman Conſull had drinen King Philip, and his army from the ſtreights neare *Antigonis*, ſeeing that the enemy kept himſelfe with his ſtrength, and abſtained from the field, he determined to try the Cities of *Theſſaly*; and hauing wonne ſome by force, ſome by feare, he came before *Blage*, and beſieged it. He found the ſiege longer, and more difficult, then any man would haue thought. And the enemy made his reſiſtance, that way, the Conſull would hardly haue beleueed, he could. For he imagined that all his labour ſhould be in throwing downe the walls. If once he found paſſage for the Army to enter, there would after be nothing elſe, but flight and laughter, as is wont in wonne Cities. But after that part of the wall was throwne downe with the Rammes, and the Armie entred the Citie by the breach, it was the beginning of a new and freſh labour. For the Macedonians, that were therein in Garriſon, being many, and choſen, thinking it alſo a glory to them, if they could defend the Citie, rather with

H 2

armes

d Diodor. Sic.
lib. 17. 65.
Plutarch. in
Alexander.
Qu. Curt. de
reſ. ſenſ. Alex.
Juſtin.

e Diod. Sicul.
lib. 16. 54.
Juſtin. lib. 8.
D. Dio. Sicul.
lib. 16. 55.
Plutarch. in
Pelopida.
Juſtin. lib. 3.
g Diod. Sicul.
lib. 17. 169.
h Qu. Curt. de
reſ. ſenſ. lib. 4.
i Polyb. lib. 2.
k Polyb. lib. 7.
763. D.

l Plutarch. in
Flamin.

m Plutarch. in
Pyrrho.
n Polyb. lib. 7.
760. C.
Plutarch. in
Flaminio.

o Appian. in
Syriacus 107. D.

p Plutarch. in
Emilius.
q Livy dec. 5.
lib. 4. 73.

r Plutarch. in
Emilio.

s Polyb. lib. 17.
764. A.
t Livy Decad.
5. lib. 5. 73. C.

u Livy Decad.
4. lib. 2. 18.

x Livy Decad.
4. lib. 2. 30. C.

armes and valor, than with walles, *ferring* themselves close together in a deepe *Phalange*, when they perceived, that the Romans began to enter the breach droue them out, the place being cumberlome, and hard to make a retreat. The *Consul* much offended therewith, and thinking that shame concerned not only the delay of winning one Citie, but also the state of the whole warre, (which for the most part dependeth vpon moments of small matters) purging the place which was besieged vp with the fall of the halfe-ruined wall, aduanced a Tower which in many stories was fluted with multitudes of armed men, and sent besides *Cohorts* vnder their Ensignes to breake vith maine force (if it were possible) the body (they call it the *Phalange*) of the Macedonians. But the kinde of weapons and fight was more aduantageous for the enemy, than for the Romans; especially in that place, which was narrow, and streightned with the small space of the ouerthrowne wall. When the Macedonians, *ferring* themselves close, had charged pikes of a great length before their front, and the Romans, after their darts throwne in vaine against the *testudo* compacted, as it were, of the thicke knitting together of the Targets, had drawne their swords, they could neither come vp close, nor cut a funder the pikes. And in case they cut the heads of, or broke any, the steale amongst the rest of the whole pikes filled vp the roome with their sharpe fragments. Ioyne that that part of the wall, which was yet whole, secured the enemies flanks on both sides; neither needed they much ground in retiring or advancing to charge, which things are wont to cause the breach of array. There also fell out a chance which increased their hopes, and spirits. For the Tower being driven on vpon a ramper, that was not well rammed vnderneath, but had loose earth, one of the wheeles sinking deeper into the ground than the rest, made the Turret to nodd, & lie of one side, that both the enemy beleued it would fall, and they within it were put in a pitifull feare. When nothing succeeded well, the *Consul* was cuill appaied, that the Macedonian souldiers, and kinde of Armes, might seeme matcheable to his, and seeing no great hope of speedily winning the Citie, and that the place was vnfit to winter in, raised his siege. So here the Macedonian souldier is not onely equalled, but also preferred before the Roman, and that onely by reason of his armour, the Pike and Target. Another experience fell out in the battaile betwixt Perseus, and Amilius, whereof I speake in this Chapter. The storie is this: The Romans comming to ioyne battell with the Macedonians, and not able to come vp to them by reason of the length, and ioint ouer-bearing of their pikes. There was one *Silius* a Capitaine of *Pelignans*, who tooke the Ensigne of his Company from the Ensigne-bearer, and threw it into the Macedonian *Phalange*. The *Pelignans* ranne in heapes to the place (for it is not lawfull, nor honest, for the Italians to forsake their Ensignes) where the medley brought forth wonderfull effects. For the *Pelignans* fought with words to put by the pikes, and to presse them downe with their Targets. And seeing vpon them to pull them out of the hands of the Macedonians. The Macedonians contrary wise, maintaining their charge with both hands, and striking such, as approached neare, thorough the bodies, at mes and all, neither Target nor Carae, being able to sustaine the violence of the blow, turned topsy-turvy the bodies of the *Pelignans*, who not with reason, but with the rage of wilde beasts, threw themselves desperately vpon wounds, and vpon certaine, and fore scene death. So the forme falling, the followers began to slacke. And yet they fled not, but retired to the mount called *Olacrus*. I will out of *Appian* ioyne a third experience in the battaile of Antiochus against

Phalange
Amilius.

Appian. in Sy-
riacis. 109. B.

again? L. Scipio, which likewise touched before in this Chapter. As soone, as the Hosts, and Chariots of Antiochus were put to flight by the Roman horsemen, and by Eumenes, his *Phalange* of foote being destitute of horse, first opened, and receiued the light-armed, (that had all this while fought in the front) into the midst of it. Then after-ward againe closed. And when *Domitius Scipio's* Lieutenant, encompassed it round with horse and light-armed, which he might easily streffe; being neither able to charge the enemy, nor yet to countermarch in so thing auailed them, as it carried. It grieved them much, that their long experience was subiect to arrowes, and darts at all hands. Yet, bearing out a multitude of pikes on euery side of their square, they called the Romans to come to handy blowes, and still made a countenance, as though they meant to charge, keeping them therather, because they had to doe, with an enemy on horse-backe. Besides they were loth to breake the thickeness of their battaile, which forme they could feare their experience in warre, and closeness of array, and desperation. But none was throwne in vaine, falling amongst a troupe so closely put vp together, that they could neither auoide, and decline any thing throwne, nor giue way, albeit they saw it comming. At last being weary, and irresolute what to doe, they retired easily, with a threatening countenance notwithstanding, and in good order, and not deliuering the Romans of feare, who durst not yet come neare, but sought to annoy them aloofe; till the Elephants placed in the Macedonian *Phalange*, being affrighted, and not to be ruled by their Gouernours, troubled all, and gaue occasion of flight: hitherio Appian. One of these three examples, the truth of that, which Aelian saith, is to be seene, that is, that the Macedonian *Phalange* can not be forced, or resisted by an enemy, (taking with all Polybius his caution) if it be in the right posture, and figure, and haue such ground, as is fit. The Romans the best souldiers of all antiquitie were repulled by it at a siege, forced to retire in a battell, durst not come neare it, after they had gained the field of the rest of the Army. And the *Consull* Amilius, a man that had seene much seruice, and fought many a battaile, and was one of the best Generalls of that time, confessed, he neuer saw so fearefull a sight, as when he beheld the *Phalange* advancing into the field, the bodies ioynd, the Targets setted, and locked together, darting out fire like lightning, the front rough with couched, and charged pikes, and armed with yron, and threatening present death to him, that durst approach.

Occupying two Cubits of ground] We may not take it, as though the souldier betwixt file, and file had two Cubits, or three foote of ground. For we learned before, that in locking vp the *Phalange*, the distance betwene man, and man in front was but a Cubit. But it is to be understood betwene ranke and ranke. For Polybius saith, that the souldier ought to haue roome for the rise of his weapon, which cannot be, without granting him three foote behinde, the pike being sometimes to be pushed forward, some-times to be drawne backe, sometimes otherwise handled, as occasion of fight shall require.

The length of the Pike is 16 Cubits] Sixteene Cubits, which is twenty sixe footes, is a great length for a Pike, and it verifieth the words of Livy, 5. & cap. 6. that the Macedonian Pike is vnwealdy, by reason of the length, and weight.

b Polym lib a
in Clisq; mo
§ 2:
c Xenophon de
expedit Cyr

ye! doe wee read of pikes of that length. The ^b Aedessians had such. The ^c Chalybes pikes were about 15 cubits long. ^d But 16 was the length at the first, the Macedonians brought it to 14, which they took to be a sufficient length against the enemy, and easier for the pike-man to beare and handle.

4 The space in charging betwixt the handes taking vp two cubits. *Herein is a difference betwixt Elian, and Polybius. Elian would haue no more, then 2 cubits lost in charging; * Polybius faith 4. are left, and with Polybius agreeth Leo. But the cause of the difference ariseth out of the forme of the pike, and of the manner of holding it in the charge. If it be held at the butt end with the right hand, and supported toward the armed end with the left, as the manner in charging is, it cannot lose above two cubits; and Elian is in the right. But if, in holding it, you let the right hand 2 cubits from the butt end, then must 4 cubits of necessitie be lost. Whereof 2 rest behinde the right hand, the other two are taken vp by the space betwixt both hands. Our manner of charging is as this day, to take the butt end in the right hand, and in so doing we lose but two cubits. But it seemeth our pikes are not made in that forme, they were in Polybus time.*

In Polybius age they had weapons at the butt end to make the shaft and the lighter, as the beam pommel lighter, etc. the sword in handling. * This weight was called *sceloma*, as it were a counter-weight to the butt-end, and length of the pike. Neither do I read of any thing else where in Polybius, concerning the counter-weight of a pike. To the handle of an Oar, I find in * Athenæus, that lead was added, to make the part standing out from the shippe more light. But yet Polybius, and *Ælianus* opinions may well agree, and in pikes that have counterweights at their ends (the bold for charging being taken; two cubits from the butt end) there may be left four cubits, where the other sort being held at the butt end it [elf], lose but 2 cubits.

5 The pikes of the other bande, cannot reach to the first ranke.] *How shall they beare their pikes then?* Polybus *sheweth, what the manner was.* Those rankes, *saieth he*, that stand behinde the fifth, can helpe nothing to the fight in front. And therefore they charge not their pikes low, but beare them towards their forelanders shoulders, the points somewhat erected to secure the battaile from above, intercepting by their thicke lying the mischiefe weapons, which flying over the front, would otherwise fall vpon their heads, that are placed toward the rear. Polybus *saieth the manner was,* (neither to charge, nor order their pikes, but) *to beare them forwards sloping towards the shoulders of their companions before. Thus by bearing themselves, what security they could cume from the mischiefe weapons, that came aloft, cannot yet conceine.* An arrow, dart, or stone, *unless it hit his iust on the middle of the pikes, would do as much, and sometimes more, harme by glancing, then if it had not toucht them at all.*

Some would have the hinder pikes longer.] *The opinion of them, whom Ælian here speaks of, hath little reason to ground upon.* For either the pike of them thus come in the five ranks betwixt, especially the two left, must exceed in length, or else the file-leader; pikes in fortresse, both which are alike impossible. If they be too long, they cannot be wielded, if too short, the enemy shall reach the file-leaders, and not the file-leaders the enemy. The measure of the longest pike was 16 cubits, which yet for safety and ease was by the Macedonians reduced to 14. Say then the sixteenth rank, carryeth pikes of 16 cubits; two of the cubits according to Ælian, are taken away in handling, other ten by reason of the distance of the five former ranks. Four cubits alone remaine, and reach over the front. If the file leader in the front shorten his pike to four cubits to make an even extension, he shall not come neerer the enemy by ten cubits, who in pushing will reach home to him. For what length shorter, is taken from the file-leader, front.

front, the same is given to the enemy, that pusheth with him. And we shall be able to wound the file-leader, and not the file-leader him, especially the pikes differing in length a proportion.

6 The superordinate Lieutnant of every Syntagma] I have before noted the
 duties of a Lieutnant of the Syntagma, and it is here well expressed by Elian. He, that
 desires to be more touching the same, let him refer to Xenophons Cyropædia : lib.
 3. 28. and lib. 7. 178. B. and to Leo, cap. 14. § 79.

The place of the light-armed, and the number of every file.

СНАР. XV.

Thus much of ordering and marshalling the armed-foote. I will adde a word, or two, of the light-armed, or naked. The Generall is to place the light-armed so, that they be readie for all attempts of the enemy, sometime in front, sometime in flanke, sometime in the Reare, according to occasion or necessity. For our purpose let them be thus ordered: We will frame also of them 1024 files as many, as the *Phalange* of the armed contained; So that the first file of the light-armed be placed directly behind the first file of the armed, and the second file behind the second, and so the rest. Yet shall they not be fixtence to the file, but halfe so many, namely eight; so that in 1024 files there shall be eight thousand, one hundred, ninety two men.

Notes.

Hitherto all things concerning the arming, filing, embatteling, number, command, distance and precedence of the armed are declared; and likewise, of the arming of the light and somewhat of their place. Now followeth the filing, ranking, and place more exactly, and their manner of embattailing, with their severall bodies. and commands.

The Generall is to place] *I haue spoken somewhat before of the placing of the light. I will now onely adde a passage of Leo touching thereunto. * Leo scribitur, you shall range the Archers behind the reare of every file according to the number 56. of the file, (that is four light for twenty six armed, proportioning an Archer for every four armed. Or if it be needfull, you shall order them within the files, an armed, and an Archer. Sometimes without the wings of the battaile; that is within the Horle. Oftentimes without the wings of the battaile; that is within the Horle. Oftentimes without the wings of the battaile; that is within the Horle. To defend the uttermost flanks of the Horle. A little distance, with a few Targeters, to bound in multitude of light-armed. But those, that vie small darts, and iaculins, and such like are to be placed, either in the reare of the armed, or in the wings of the battaile, and not in the middelt. The slingers are alwayes, to bee set in the wings. Thus Leo placeth his light armed. But Alian here (as before in the seventh Chapter) describeth their place in the reare, but so, that hee leaueh it to the Generalls choice, and to the occasion of service to place them, as most befitteth. Being first behind, as Alians order is, they must answer the armed in number of files, & be directed by the files of the armed for their standing: that is every file of the light-armed is to order it selfe in a right*

g Polyb. L. 17.
764. A.
h See lul. Pol
lux for lecom.
L. 4 c. 24. § 1.
i Athen. dip-
nosoph. lib. 5.
294. A.

k Polyb. l. 17.
764 D.

Leo cap. 14
56.

The Tactics

right line after a file of the armed in such manner, as the armed are before embattailed.

Ælian in the beginning divided the foot into three parts, Armed, Targeteers, and light-armed. To the armed he hath given place, and maketh the Phalange to consist of them, the light-armed he rangeth in the reare of the armed, what shall become of Targeteers? for he speaketh not a word of placing them. By that I read in Ælian I would think, they were placed amongst the light-armed, and next to the armed. First because Ælian saith, many number them amongst the light. Then I see the Hypaspists placed betwixt the Horse, and the armed in Alexanders fields at Granicus, at Issos, and at Gaugamela; Lastly Leo in the passage before recited, when he placed the light-armed without the Horse, he joineth Targeteers with them, for their safeguard. Cyrus likewise placest them next the armed in the reare; and after them the Archers.

2. Yet shall they not be 16.] The file of the light-armed is lesse in number, then the file of the armed. For if they should be 16 in file, the number being but halfe so the armed, they should not be able to make above 5 x 2 files, and breeding there by a disproportion both in placing, and correspondence one to an other, not equall the length of the Phalange. Besides standing eight in file, and in the reare, their flying weapons will bee sent with more force against their enemies, in as much as the hindermost of them are never the enemy by twenty four paces, which the last eight in a file of 16 deepe take up. And misse weapons, the lesse their compass is, when they are sent against a mark, with more violence they pierce. As they hurt not greatly, if the distance be too farre, from whence they come.

The names of the bodies of the light-armed.

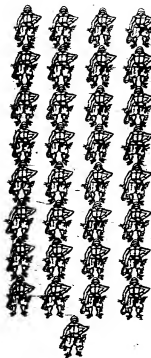
CHAP. XVI.

Their names and degrees are these. Foure files of light-armed are called 2 a Syllaxis of 32 men. Two Syllaxes a 3 Pentecostarchy of 64 men. Two Pentecostarchies 3 a Century of 128 men. In every Century ought to bee 5 Superordinate men: an Ensigne, a Reare-commander, a Trumpeter, a Sericant, and a Crier. Two Centuries containe 256 men, and are called 4 a Pylagie. Two Pylagies a Xenagie of 512 men. Two Xenagies a Syllagma of 1024 men. Two Epixenagies a Stiphas of 4096 men. Two Stiphas an Epitagma of 16384 files, 8192 men. These ought also to haue 8 Superordinate men, whereof foure should bee Epixenagies, the other foure Syllagmarches.

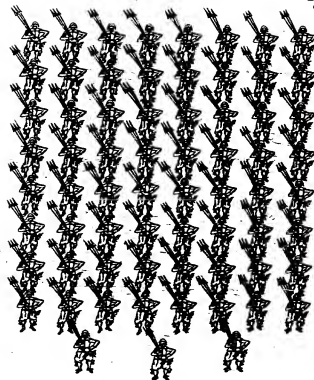
Notes.

As the armed were distinguished, and severed into diuers bodies in the Phalange, so are the light-armed, in whom there ought to be no lesse order, then in the armed. A multitude undigested bringeth with it disorder, and confusion. Neither can any service be expected from them, who by apt divisions are not cast into bodies fit for service. We haue before spoken of the names of the bodies of the armed, and noted, that they were not imposed with such propriety, that they could be applied to no other thing. At the first we were made, and men fought (as wild beasts grapple together) led with furie, and rage, and not with shrewdness; and he perceived that was the strongest. Experience taught there were advantages in Time, in Place, in Order, in instruments of fight, in placing of men, and in

A Syllaxis



A Pentecostarchy



The light Armed

The Front

Cap 16

ed are before embattailed.
 Armed, Targetiers, and
 the Phalange to consist of
 what shall come of Toge.
 read in Artian I would think,
 armed. First because Artian
 Hypaspists placed betwixt
 the light-armed without the
 d. b. Cyrus likewise placeth
 chers.

armed is left in number, then
 number being but halfe to the
 d breeding there by a dispropor-
 equall the length of the Pha-
 rir flying weapons will be sent
 undermost of them are nearer the
 of 16 deep take up. And will
 unt against a mark, with more
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to-armed.

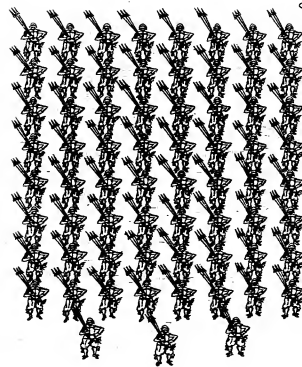
of light-armed are called a
 archy of 64 men. Two Pente-
 ought to bee a Superior dinarie
 a Sericant, and a Crier. Two
 gy. Two Phylagies a Xenagy of
 Two Epixenagies a Stiphol of
 8192 men. These ought also
 uld bee Epixenagies, the other

diners bodies in the Phalange, so
 no less order, then in the armed.
 and confusion. Neither can any ser-
 cast into bodies fit for service. We
 ed, and noted, that they were not
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 Experience taught there were ad-
 of fight, in placing of men, and
 in

A Syllary

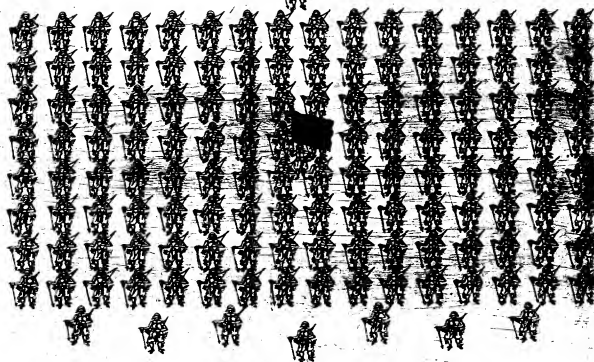


A Pentecontarchy



Cap 16

The light Armed



A Century

The Front

in other circumstances. Hence sprung the Art of Warre, the diuers formes of weapons, and the figures of Battalies. For the speedy framing whereof, the smaller bodies were invented, of which they consist. In building of a house, you first bring timber together, and other matter, and then of it frame walls, dories, windowes, rafters, beames, and the roof, which must be all conioyned together, before the fashion of the house will appeare: So in an Army the prouision of men was first requisite, which being found, and brought together by Leauies, were armed, and after ordered into severall bodies; and these being compassed together, set out the frame and fashion of the Phalange. And as all things newly invented, stand in neede of names to ascerne them from other things; So names were giuen vnto the bodies not proper and fit; but such as military wits thought convenient enough to signifie the things they meant. I haue noted it before in the names of the Tetrarchy, Taxis, Syntagma, and other, and it will appeare againe in this Chapter.

But here I may not pratermit the curiositie of the Græcians in their appellations, and their plenty of speech, apt to giue diuersitie to things, that are diuers. For where there are bodies, amongst armed, and light-armed, which consist of the same number, and therefore, as it seemes, might well enough haue bene comprehended vnder one name, they notwithstanding to auide confusion, and for perspicuities sake haue thought good to call them by sundry names. Thirty two armed men are called a Dilochi; 32 light armed are a Systasis; 64 armed are a Tetrarchie; 64 light armed a Pentecontarchie; 128 armed a Taxis; 128 light, a Hecatontarchie. Our tongue will not afford such variety. For albeit in common speech we distinguish the kinde of souldier, yet confound we the name of the body, and of the command. A certaine number of Pikes vnder a Capitaine we call a company of Pikes; So many shot vnder a Capitaine we likewise call a company of shot. The Capitaines, one a Capitaine of Pikes, and the other a Capitaine of shot. A company of Curacers of horse, we call a troope of Curacers; as many Argoleters, a troope of Argoleters. The Commanders of either of them we name Capitaines, the one of Curacers, the other of Argoleters. But let vs come to particular explication.

1 A Systasis] It cometh of Synistemi to stand together: and a systasis is a standing together; which word albeit it may be extended to any kinde of people assembled, and standing together; yet it is here appropriated to souldiers; and more particularly to 4 files of light armed, consisting of 32 men, 8 men going to the file.

2 A Pentecontarchie] The command of 50 men. And so it was vsed of olden. But the Macedonians gaue 64 men to this command, and yet retain'd the name, because it was familiar, and well knowne.

3 A Century] *Ælian* calleth it a Hecatontarchie, the command of a 100 men. The name was vsual before the Macedonians time, and it coneyned 100 men. But the Macedonians gaue it 128 men. This was answerable to the Syntagma amongst the armed, and had the like officers. Yet whether it had a Capitaine, or no, may be some doubt; the rather because *Ælian* in this Chap. nameth no Commanders, but Syntemataarchs, and Epixenagies; and those he would haue super-ordinary. For my part, I thinke they had Centurions also. For as every body of the armed had a head, if I would thinke it requisite also amongst the light-armed, especially seeing there was a Bringer-up, and other officers belonging to a Company; which unless they had a Commander, would become unprofitable. For if there were no Capitaine, to whom should the Crier, or Trumpet, or Sergeant of the Centurie resort for direction? Adde, that the light were often drawne to the wings, to the front, or other places of service, which could not be done without Leaders. For to put a Syntemataarch, or an Epixenagie to lead a Century, were to leaue the rest of the Centuries vnder them without a Commander. Besides, the

a after ap 10.

b Xenoph. de
exped. Curt.
lib. 1. 170 D
c Xenoph. de
exped. lib. 4.
321 D
d Arrian. lib. 1.
9. C.
e Arrian. lib. 1.
75.
f Arrian. lib. 1.
23 B.

the Macedonians were very particular in their commands, and left no body without a head; which is the cause of the multitude of Commanders in the Phalange. But they are not here mentioned. No more are the ^a Commanders of the horse in the division of the Looses of the horse, and yet I thinke no man will doubt, but the horsemen had Commanders. Lastly, I finde in the Græcian historie, Captaines of the light-armed often named. ^b Epithenes is said to be Commander of the Targetiers, in a fight the Græcians had against the Persians. ^c Stratoles commanded the Cretan Archers in the returne he of the Græcians out of Perlia. ^d Eurybates Captaine of the Cretan Archers in Alexander's army was slaine by the Thebans at the siege of Thebes. ^e When Antiochus the Captaine of the Archers was dead, Ombio was chosen in his place. ^f Mention is made also in ^f Arrian of Clearchus the Captaine of the Archers. And when Elian calleth the 4 Sytremmatarchs, and the 4 Epixenages super ordinary (Εἰσάκτους) he calleth the 4 as much of all the other Commanders. And he saith expressly of the officers of the Centurie, that they were super ordinary (Εἰσάκτοι).

4 A Pylagi] The word is a body of light-armed. Which word, if it were taken, as it naturally signifieth, is common to, and comprehendeth all the bodies of the light-armed, whereof Elian speaketh in this Chapter. But here it is restrained to a body of light-armed, which compriseth 256 men, and 32 files, and so it is to be taken.

A Xenagie] That is, a command of strangers. Elian before saith, that a Syntagma was by some called a Xenagie. I have given my opinion there of the original of the word, which I neede not to repeat here. This onely I will note, that of all the bodies of the light-armed, no one hath a common name with the body of the armed, but onely the Xenagie. And Elian giueth also that body of the armed another name, calling it a Syntagma. The Xenagie hath in it 512 men, and 64 files.

g Polyb. lib. 1.
47 B.

A Sytremma] ^g It signifieth a conglobation, or trouping together. Proper names are wanting for these bodies, and therefore are such taken, as might at any hand signifie the thing means. In continuance of time use hath giued a passage, and made them to be accepted as proper enough. The Sytremma consisteth 1024 men, and 128 files. There is nothing to be found in Elian of the Chiliarchie of the light-armed; Yet doth ^h Arrian mention 2 Chiliarchies of Archers in the Army of Alexander.

An Epixenagie] A command about a Xenagie; As after ward in the command of the horse, there is an Epipharchie about a Hipparchie. The word is improper and hard enough; but when it is received by use, what should we seeke for more? It consisteth 2048 men, and 256 files.

A Stiphos] It is deriued from steibo, to thicken, and in penury of another name, this body of the light-armed is called Stiphos, because they are thickened, and thronged together. There is in it 4096 men, and 256 files.

after cap. 31.

An Epitagma] It is the last body amongst the light-armed. The signification of Epitasso is to place behinde. From thence cometh Epitaxis, placing the light-armed in the Rear, which word is after used by Elian. Epitagma is deriued from the (αμ) fontaine; and it is called Epitagma, not of placing behinde, (for sometimes they were placed before, sometimes in the flanke; but it was the best name they could giue to the whole light-armed. And yet it may be, that because all the light-armed in ancient time were placed behinde, the whole masse was called Epitagma, as being placed after the armed in the reere. The Epitagma hath in it 1892 men, and 1024 files, for so many light-armed attend the Phalange.

Eight super ordinary men] Why these eight men should be super ordinary more than the rest of the Commanders, I conceiue not yet. If Elians meaning be, that these alone shall command the light-armed, by his use and practise of ancient times, conuince the contrary.

contrary. Besides where he nameth foure Epixenagies, it agreeth with the number that are in the Epitagma of light. But where he addeth foure Sytremmatarchs more to make up the number of the eight Super ordinary, it is hard to knowe, which foure he meant, considering there are eight Sytremmas in the Epitagma.

Now because the files of the light-armed are in embusaling to be marshalled to the files of the armed, I thought good to set downe how the bodies of both agree, by comparing them together in files, not in number of men. For in number of men they cannot well agree, because the file of the armed hath more, then the file of the light-armed. And the number of the armed in grasse is 16384, of the light-armed but 8192. And I will first begin with the Sytaxis, because it is the least body of the light.

The bodies of the armed,

A Tetrarchie
A Taxia
A Syntagma
A Pentecostarchie
A Chiliarchie
A Merarchie
A Phalangarchie
A Diphalangarchie
A Tetraphalangarchie

The bodies of the light-armed.

A Sytaxis,	4	files.
A Pentecostarchie,	8	files.
A Hecatomarchie,	16	files.
A Pflagie,	32	files.
A Xenagie,	64	files.
A Sytremma,	128	files.
An Epixenagie	256	files.
A Stiphos	512	files.
An Epitagma	1024	files.

The use of light-armed foote.

CHAP. XVII.

Darters, Archers, and all other, that vie flying weapons, are good to begin the fight to prouoke the enemy, to break and shatter armour, to wound, annoy, and beate downe a farre off; to disaray the enemy, to repulse their horse, to beat in their light-armed, to discouer suspected places, and to lay Ambushes. Lastly these first vndertaking the Skirmish, and continuing it with the rest, and seconding them, and seruing for speedie, and farre-of-attempts, worke many, and great effects in fight.

Notes.

The arming, place, siting, bodies, and command of the light-armed are hitherto handled: Now followeth the use, and seruice they performe in the field. And first wee are to thinke of the body of an armie, as of the body of a man, that is compact of severall parts: Of which some parts are of more use then other. Some being able to performe their function without the helpe of the other, some except the other helpe, can doe nothing to purpose of themselves. The parts of an armie are like. The armed are the strength of the field, and are the refuge for the rest in extremitie. The light armed with the armed, worke great effects (these which Elian speaketh of in this Chapter and many more) without them they cannot so much as maintaine a place in the field. ^a And Xenophon saith, a Xenoph. Cy. Let them be neuer so many in number, yet dare they not stand or abide a fewe armed. In which respect, a place fit hath alwaies bene sought for their seruice, to secure them from the access of the horse, or of the enemies armed. Which place was either be-
hinde

b. 104 esp. 14.
s. 105.

hinde the Phalange (as Ælian here would haue it) or else in the wings betwixt the Horse, and the armed, or if they skirmished loofe before the front, and chanced to be pressed with the enemy, they retired into the intervals, and conueied themselves behind the Phalange in safety. Leo saith, if there be any place of strength, it will much helpe the light-armed. For after their flying weapons spent, retiring thither, they will be in more securitie, as a steepe rockie place, or the banke of a riuer, or a high hill, or such other. Our *Vories* report, that at the battaile of Agincourt in France 200 English Archers were beset in a meadow fenced with a deepe ditch, & from whence they so guided the French horse and foot, that they were a great helpe to the victorie. The like happened before at Poitiers, where that braue Prince of Wales eldest sonne of Edward the third, hauing to fight with the whole power of France vnder the leading of their King, gaue safeguard to his Archers, with hedges and ditches, and other strengths. So that the French horse hauing no access to disorder them, were ouerwhelmed with the tempests, and stormes of their arrows, and such a victory obtained by our nation, as might match the most renowned of all antiquitie. To say nothing of the inuention which Henrie the fifth used against the horse of France for securing his Archers. The *Forie* saith, he deuised flakes of two yards long, and armed both ends with pikes of iron, the one to stick into the ground, and the other to gall, and enter the horses bellies, in case they came to charge our Archers home. By means whereof he caried the famous victorie of Agincourt. This for the assurance of the light armed, when they come to fight, without which assurance, their seruice would be weak, and scarce worth the hauing. Their seruice then according to Ælian hath many particulars. And they are good to

c. Arrian lib.

Prouoke the enemy. If the enemy be in a wood, a fence, a hill, a fort, a towne, or other place of strength, that admitteth no access, the manner hath bene to send out the light armie to shew themselves, and with a brando to towle him out of his advantage, and bring him into the field, where he may more easily be dealt withall. Examples are plentifull, but I will content my selfe with a Macedonian example. Alexander leading his armie against the Tribals, that had hid themselves in a wood, commanded his Archers, and Slingers to runne out, and to shoote, and sling amongst the Barbarians to see, if he could towle them into the plaine. The Archers, and Slingers spared not to let sic, and the Tribals being wounded with arrows, threw themselves out of the wood with all speed, to fall upon the vnrmed Archers. Alexander presently commanded Philotas with the Horse of vpper Macedonia to charge the right wings, on which part they cast out themselves thurstest. And *iteracides*, and *Sopolis* with the horse of *Bottia*, and *Amphilopolis* the left, himselfe stretching out in length the Phalange of foote, & setting the rest of horse before the Phalange, led againe the midle of the armie. As long as sic was but a skirmish, the Tribals had not the worst. But after the Phalange close fenced came vp roundly to them, and the Horsemen charged them no longer with darts, but pressed, and ouerbore them with their horse, they fled thorough the wood to the riuer.

d. Leo esp. 14.
s. 104.
e. Cui. Decad.
s. lib. 2. 39. B.

To beginne the fight. Leo saith, if sic be, we haue light-armed enough, let them, before the armie issue, fend their darts, and arrows at the enemy, and after the sight of the armed is begonne pierce the flanks with their misse weapons, that at once both their flanks may be assaulted. It hath bene, and is now the ordinarie course to beginne the fight with the light-armed. And because we shall read of no battaile, almost wherein it was not so, I will forbear examples.

e. Luc. Decad. 4.
lib. 8. 161. B.

To wound a farre off. The light seruie to great purpose, if the Generall desire not to come neere to fight, but seke to annoy his enemy, a farre off without danger of his owne folkes. Liuius telleth of Cn. Manlius Volsio, that being to make warre against the Gallo Græcians,

Græcians, that fled into the mountains, and awaited the Romans there, and sought to defend themselves, by advantage of the place, he prepared great plenty of darts, arrows, bullets, and small stones for Slinges: and leaving his legionaries, souldiers behind, led he light armed, against the enemy, that possessed certaine straits, his, by which his armie must passe. After some light the Gallo-Græcians being not sufficiently armed, to defend their bodies from the misse weapons, the light-armed of the Romans forced the passage. And following them euen to the Campe, where their Companions came to their aide, they first drue them into their Campe, and after the Legionary Souldiers coming vp, they wonnen it. Thence before rehearsed the historie of Iphicrates, who with his Targetiers (that came seldom to hand blowes, but plied the enemy with darts a farre off) overthrew and leue a whole Moira of the Lacedemonians. The Acarnians, likewise with this kind of fight, much incumbered Agefilas, that made an excursion into their Country. The story is this, Agefilas hauing taken a great prey, in the territory of the Acarnians, rested that day, where he had taken it, being busie in selling of it. In the mean time many Acarnian Targetiers assembled themselves together, where Agefilas was incamped upon the side of a mountaine and with darting and slinging, they forced his Campe to descend to the plaine, themselves in the mean time being free from hurt. The next day Agefilas led away his armie. The passage out of the place was straight, by reason of the mountains lying about in a circle, which the Acarnians possessed, plied the Lacedemonians with darts, and stones, from the higher ground, and sometimes descending to the skirts of the hills, they pressed the armie so, that it could not move forward. And when the armed, foote, or horse, fell out upon them, they profited little: For the Acarnians retired immediately, to their strength. Agefilas perceiving it would be hard for his armie to winde out of those straights, so long as the enemy so hung vpon them, refused to charge those on his left hand. For the ascent on that side was more easie, both for his horse, and armed foote. Commanding therefore, his men to charge, the armed (of 29 yeeres of age) first fell on, and the horse after them vpon the spurre. Himselfe followed with the rest. The Acarnians therefore, that were defended, and busie a darting, were quickly put to flight, and many flaine in seeking to remount the hills. But their armed foote, and most of their Targetiers, stood imbattailed on the toppes, and from thence both threw other misse weapons, and lanced lauelines, wherewith they wounded horsemen, and killed some horse. But being ready to be charged by the Lacedemonian armed, they fled, looting some 300 in the flight. These light-armed then, as long as they can keepe aloofe from the enemy, annoy them sore by wounding (as Ælian saith) a farre off, as [sic] as the armed come vp, they are glad to quite their place, and saue themselves by flight.

4. To disarray. So long as a battaile remaineth in order, no victorie is gotten against it. Breaking of array, and disbanding, are companions of flight, and of forsaking the field. The armed, that are to endure the efforts of the light armed, must either keepe still their order, and suffer themselves, to be knocked downe, and flaine, as they stand, or else prouide for themselves, by flight, or by yielding. For the light-armed effect with their misse weapons the one, or the other. An example may be scene in the Egyptians in Cræsus his battaile, who after the defeat of the rest of the armie, maintained yet the fight, and yielded not to Cyrus, though he had now the victorie. Cyrus at the first charged their bickes with his horse, and being not able to breake them, was faine to command his Archers and darters, to shoote and cast their darts at them: wherby the Egyptians after many wounds, and losse of their people, were finally constrained to yield. A like example is before alleaged of Domitius the Lieutenant of L. Scipio, who with misse weapons alone forced the Macedonian Phalange to scatter, and take themselves to flight.

c. Xenoph. hist.
Græc. lib. 4.
s. 13. D.

c. Xenoph. Cy.
ro. lib. 7. 17. B.

c. Appian. in
Syriacis. cap. B.

b Plutarch in
Crasso.

c Plut in Ant.

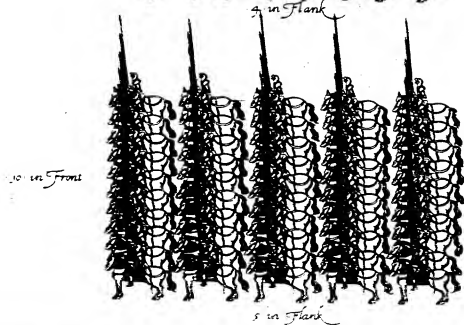
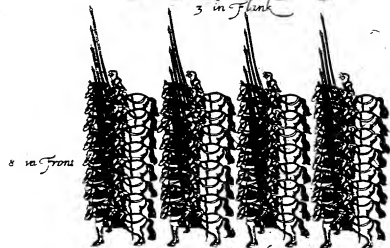
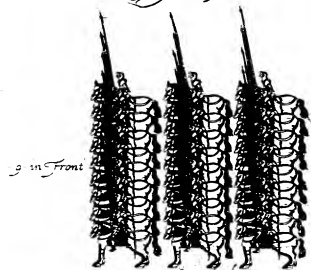
d Liadecad. 4.
lib. 1. 16. A. B.
e Hirtius de
bell. African.

5 To repulse their Horse] The light armed alone, without a sur: retreat to the armed, or else some place of strength, can doe little in repulsing of horse. I haue shewed before in the ^a exploits of Crassus into Persia, how the light armed were beaten in by the Persian horse, and by the shew of wounds, they received, and with their feare, discouraged the armed. The like happened in ^c Antonies retreat out of Persia, the light armed being faine to shroude themselves from the Persian horse within the Phalange of the armed. Be they neuer so many, without some such assurance the horse will soon overcome them; hauing this assurance their service much assisteth horsemen both in wounding them, and in killing their horse. I herfore ^d of ancient time it was vsuall to mingle horse, and light armed together. For the enemies horse so charged, cannot be able to resist both. A notable example is in ^e Hirtius: Cæsar, saith hee, hauing a journey in hand, and but a small number of Horse, and legionary Souldiers, was in his way set upon by the enemy abounding in store of Horse, and of light armed Numidians amongst them. And when the Souldiers of Cæsar fell out to charge, the enemies horse galloped away, and the foote stood fast, till the Horse with a full career returned to the rescue. This kinde of fight troubled Cæsar much, and would haue troubled him more, had hee not recovered hills, that were not farre off, and by that means shaken of the molesting enemy. And for repulsing horse there is no better means for the armed foote, then with the light armed to line that part of the battaile, where the horse shall be about to giue on.

6 To beat in the light armed] The light armed being nimble and quick, and seeking alwaies advantages by changing of ground, can neuer be forced by the armed foote, (who are charged with heauie furniture, and by reason thereof can make no speed) to seek succour in the battaile of their armed. Either they must be beaten in by the horse, or by the contrary light armed, as Elian hath heere. The Horse are commonly to encounter with Horse, and the light armed with light armed, amongst whom the greater number preuaileth, their skill, and armes being alike. For the fight being a faine of, many will sooner wound, or kill a few, then a few many, saith ^f Xenophon: If the fight be at hand the better armed, or better minded will drue the other out of the field. The ^g Roman Horse, and the light armed, were too hard for the Macedonians, and chased them to their Campe. And that happened by reason their armour was fitter to close, and to fight at hand. So our Archers at the battaile of Cressly compelled the Genua crossbowes to forsake the field, the english bow being better in use, then the Genua crossbowe. When they haue made the contrary light armed to quit their place, they are as liberty themselves to serue, where most aduantage may be had of their service.

7 To discover suspected places, and lay ambushes] Suspected places are such for the most part, as ambushes are laid in. Ambushes are of two kinds, being laid either to endamage the enemies battell in the field, or to hinder, and disaioint his march. The places, such as are removed from sight, and had neede of speciall discovery. As woods, mountaines, forests, rocks, banckes of riuers, caues, hills, hollow, and deepe waies, and the like. The most part of which are rough, and intricate, and scarce passable for the heauy armed, and horse. But the light armed, that are not incumbered with weight of armes, are able quickly to aduance, or retire, are fittest to lie close in such places, or to search if the enemy be lodged there. For the first kinde of Ambushes wee read, that both heauy armed, and horse haue bene impleided. The warres of Anniball in Italy afford plenty of examples here in. For the other, which is to beset or discover waies, there are none so fit, as the light armed, whose quicknes, and expedition, giue them aduantage to assault their enemy with their misse weapons, though the ground be neuer so unequal, and meanes to view any place suspected without almost any danger of their owne.

Page 18
The Square



Cap. 33.

A Rhombe of Horse

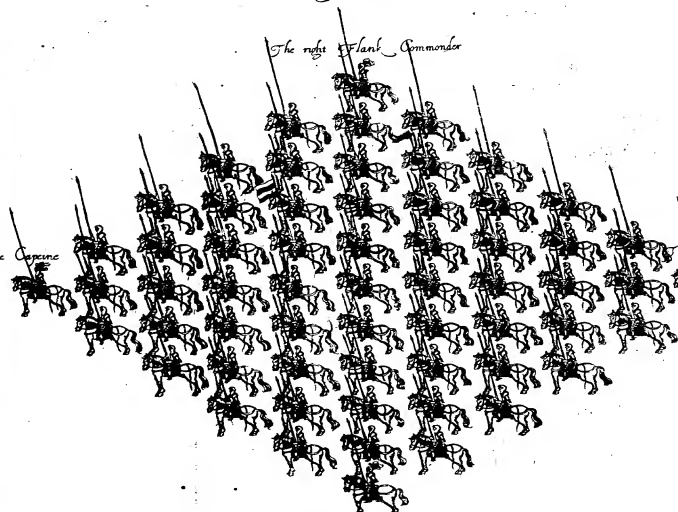
The right Flank Commander

The Captain

The Lieutenant

The Rear

The left Flank Commander



of Elian.

99

8 For speedy and farre attempts] *A beaue armed man is not fit for sarre or sudaue attempts; he is armed for a firme and stedfast fight, and not for conuulsions.* Alexander, when he was to vnto expedition,ooke with him the horse and light-armed, leaving the armed to come after. * So did he, when he oppressed Clytus, and Glaucias in their campe. ¹ So when he possessed himselfe of the streights of Cilicia ² so in preventing of the burning of Tarsus ³ ⁴ so in seeking to take the streights of the Vxians, ⁵ and the gates of Peritis ⁶ and the rocks of Aorne. The same hath bene the manner of other Generallias. I haue noted in other places. For when Celerity is requisite, who so fit ⁷ to be employed, as they who haue nothing to hinder their speede? The Targetiers had but a light target, and a spere; the lightarmed but their arms. And what are they bowes, and arrows, darts, and stings, which haue no weight in them. * Which was the reason ⁸ also, that in victory they were employed in giuing chase to the enemy, that had lost the field. The armed used to follow in good order of battell, the slaughter, and execution was delivered to the light armed, and horse. Wherein notwithstanding the counsell of Iphicrates was held good; take heede (said hee, to his light-armed) of ambushes, and spare not to presse hard vpon the reare of those, that flee, till you come to riuers, or straightes, or ditches. For it is dangerous in such places to hinder the enemies flights, least feare turne into desperation.

The fashion of Horse-battailles: and first of the Rhombe, the Wedge, and the Square.

CHAP. XVIII.

Those, that haue written before mee, haue diuersely framed Horse-battailles, some of iust squares, some longer in flanke, then in fronte, some like a Rhombe, some like a Wedge, but none of them haue (if I may speake freely) expressed fully their owne conceits. Therefore to make all things cleere, and better to be understood, I will set downe the severall figures of each severall kinde. It cometh the Thebaisians whose power was great in Horie, were the first, that vsed the kinde of battaille fashioned in forme of a Rhombe (the inuention whereof is attributed to Ision) as fittest for all encounters; The Horsemen thus ordered being ready to turne their faces euery way with speede, and not easie to be surprised in flanke, or in the Reare. Because the best men stand in the flanke, and the Commanders in the Angles, as namely the Capitaine of the troupe in the front, and in the right, and left Angles those, that are called Flanke-commanders, and the Lieutenant in the Reare-angle. The Scythians, and Thracians haue vsed Wedges, and likewise the Macedonians by the ordinance of King Philip. For this kinde of battaille was held of more ex-²cellence, then the square, because the Commanders are placed in a circle; and consisting of a narrow front, it maketh readie passage thorough any distance, and an easie wheeling and returning to the first posture, as hauing no such troublesome windings about, as hath the Square. The Persians, and Sicilians, and most Grecians made choice of Squares, being of opinion they were more easie to frame, and fitter for ioint-mouing of the Horie, and more effectually in vic. For they are sooner in order being digested

into files, and ranks, and in this order alone all the Commanders fall upon, and charge the enemy with one maine force. Those are best *Squares*, that double the number of the length to the number of the depth. As when there are eight in length, and foure in depth, or tenne in length, and fise in depth. These in number are of vnequall sides, but in figure foure *square*. For the length of a Horse from head to taile compared with his breadth requireth more men in rank, then in file [to make vp the *square*] Some allow thrice as many in length, as in depth, and thinke by that meane a perfect *square* may be formed : because for the most part, the length of a Horse seemeth thrice as much, as the breadth betwixt his shoulders. Therefore they giue nine in front, and three in flanke. For a multitude of Horsemen yeeld not the same aduantage behinde, that foote doo, when in the depth of the Battaille they jointly thrust on ; in as much as the Horse helpe nothing to the settlednesse of fast resistance, being neither able to thrust those forwards, that are before, nor yet to linke, and knitte with them, and so to make one weight, as it were, of the whole body ; and in case they presse vpon the foremost, by disordering, and distemperring their owne Horse, they annoy themselves more, then the enemy. Therefore it alwaies falleth out, that when there are as many Horse in length, as in depth, a *square* of number is made, but the sides of the figure are vnequall, the depth exceeding the length in proportion ; but when the figure of the Troupe is *square*, the number of the sides and front, is vnequall.

Notes.

In the second Chapter of this booke, the armie was diuided into two kindes, footemen, and Riders. Footemen againe into three armed, Targetiers, and lightarmed. Of these three as hitherto treated. Riders follow, who either used Horses, or Elephants. Horses either alone, or else in Chariots. Of these Ælian treateth severally hereafter. For the arming, and place of Horse in the field, see hath sufficiently spoken already. The following discourse is : First, of the manner of embattailing horse (wherein he setteth downe the diuersity of vsage in ancient time.) Then of Chariots, and lastly of Elephants. * That a horse is a kinde of beast, that loues man, and is most faithfull vnto him Pliny testifieth. The use of him is for cariage, and for seruice in the field. And in the seruice of the field an armie without horse, is in a manner no armie. Iphicrates (as I haue said before) comparing an armie to a mans body resembleth the horse to a seete. And as the body hath no power of moving, or rather removing, the seete being alone, or taken away, so is the armie slow, and vnfit for expedition, that is destitute of horse, and may be well resembled to those beasts, that creepe vpon their bellies, whose greatest haste is with little speede. The horse doo great seruice in the field of themselves alone, and are principally employed in matters that require quicknesse in dispatch. Therefore are they fit for discoveries, either of the enemies country, or of his campe, or of his marche, or of other things, whereof the Generall desires to haue notice. And not for discoveries alone, but to spoile and destroy, whatsoeuer the enemy hath growing, to make prey of his Cattle, burne his houses, kill his people, surpris his places of strength, and to combat him from doing the like to vs ; to bring and conuey prouision for our Campe, to shut in the enemy, that he geue not out his campe for the causes, to hinder the enemies march by falling on the reare. Briefely all expeditions of celeritie are for the most part deliuered to the horse alone. Especially as long as they are in such places, as ouer them liberty to go on, or retire at their pleasures. Yet are they often ioynd with the light armed, as I haue shewed. They often ioyne likewise

a Plin natural
hystor. lib. 7.
cap. 56.

likewise with the armed. * And if they may come to charge the enemies battaille in the flanke, or reare, at such time, as our armed charge in front, they indanger all. But for employment alone against the armed foote many ex-amples of former times shew, how weakethere force is. b And how little they preuaile (especially against armed, that are practiced in fight, and resolute Souldiers) The examples I haue quoted in the margin make the matter cleare. For further confirmation I will set downe Xenophons opinion, which all be it, it were deliuered concerning the Perlian horse, that came against the armed foote of the Grecians in their returne out of Persia, yet the reason stretcheth to all horse in generall. His words found thus : c If any of you faint in minde (as he do to the Grecians) because we haue none, the enemy many horse, let him consider, that ten thousand horse-men are no more, then ten thousand men. For no man was euer slaine in battaille by bying, or stroke of a horse : Men they are, that performe, whatsoeuer is done in fight. As for vs (the foote be meaneth) our mounting is much more firme, and steadfast then theirs. They hang vpon their horse, and are in feare not onely of vs, but to be shaken of and throwne to ground. We contrariwise haue stable footing, and shall be able both with great assurednesse to strik, and direct our aime with more certainty. One aduantage the horse-men haue, they may more securely runne away. Hitherto Xenophon. And so much is summarily spoken of the seruice of horse.

In the Theffalians, whose power was great in horse] The Theffalians inhabiting about the mountaine Pelius were the first, that fought on horse-backe, and were therefore called Centaures. When they watered their horses in the river Peneus, the horse heads stooping to drinke made the vnskillfull multitude, who saw the bodies of men ioynd to the shoulders of the horse, conceiue, that the upper part was man, and the neither Oxe. For it should seeme, horse were not so well knowne then, as Oxen, with which they laboured and plowed their land. The Poets therefore fained, that they were monster compounded of two diuers natures, man and oxe, or bull, and that Centaurus, the beginner of the race was begotten by Ixion vpon a cloude, which was figured like Iuno. Howbeit Senicius giueth a better originall of the name, saying, that certaine seruants of a Theffalian King seeing their masters Neate, raging with the Brimse (a flie that biteth carrell) got a horse backe, and pricking them with goades, reduced them to their stables, and that they were after called Centaures, Para kentein ton taurous, of pricking the neate. The great Etymologicon giueth yet another beginning of the name. For where I haue said that Centaurus was begotten by Ixion vpon a cloude, which was figured like Iuno, with whom Ixion was in loue : The Etymologicon saith, the sonne of Ixion, and of the cloude was called Centaurus : Apo tou ton patera autou kentein ten aurau. But d Diodorus Sicul. reporting the historie of the Centaures, speaketh not of Centaurus, the father of the race but saith notwithstanding, that they were bred of a cloude, and that the Nymphs brought them vp, and that they were the first horsemen, and therefore called Hippocentaures which gaue occasion to the fable, that they had two natures. It is generally agreed, that these Centaures were Theffalians, and that they were the first horsemen, that are mentioned in any history. And as they were the first, so by reason of their long practise e they were accounted the best, the most valiant, and the most expert horse-men of all Greece, euen to the time of Philip, the sonne of Amintas King of Macedonia, who conquered all Theffaly (saith Iustini) to the end of definite to make himselfe rich of the prey of that Countrey, but to winne to his armie the strength of the Theffalian horsemen. Whose seruice he used afterward in all his war. Neither did they lesse seruice to his sonne f Alexander, in whose greatest battailes their vertue clearely appeareth, and is especially commended by histories. b Pyrrhus ;

a Diod. Sicul.
lib. 16. § 12.
Pol. lib. 2.
§ 68. A. B.
b Hærodotus de
bell. African.
Xenoph. de
exped. Cyr.
lib. 2. § 109. D.
Plut. in Anton.
Appian in Par.
lib. 1.
c Xenoph. de
exped. Cyr. lib.
2. § 104. B. C.

d Diod. Sicul.
lib. 4. § 189.

e Xenoph. hist.
Grec. lib. 7.
§ 644. D.
f Iust. lib. 7.
§ 924.
g Diod. Sicul.
lib. 17. § 73.
h Ptolemy in
Alexand.
i Ptolemy in
Parric.

The Tacticks

thus also, principally by their valor, put the Romans to flight. * Agesilaus returning out of Asia towards his Country led his army through Theſſalie, and being much incumbered in his march, by the Theſſalian horſemen, that were his enemies, hee charged them and overthrew them, and pleased himſelfe marvellouſly therein, becauſe with troups of horſe, which himſelfe had raised, and diſciplin'd, hee had overthrowne the Theſſalians, that were (ſaith Xenophon) to highly renowned for horſemanſhip.

2 Fashioned and forme of a Rhombe] There are three kinde of horſe battalies mentioned by Elian, the Rhombe, the Wedge, and the Square. And the Square is either a ſquare, or longer in ſlanke then in front, or in front then in ſlanke. The Rhombe was the inuention of the Theſſalians, and in that forme they uſually fought. But where he maketh ſaſon to be the inuention of it, he afterward expoundeth his own meaning, attributing the inuention to Ileon the Theſſalian (from whom alſo it was tearmed ile) to be the chiefe practiſe to ſaſon. Euclyde deſcribeth a Rhombe in this ſort:

* A Rhombe is a ſquare figure, that hath the ſides equal, but the angles not right. That is, the ſoure ſides of the ſquare are of one, and the ſame length, but the points, which make the angles, are two of them ſtretched out in greater length, and become more ſharpe, two of them brought narrower together, and made more blunt, then the right angles of a Tetragonall ſquare. See the figure. It is the ſame figure in a battaile, that at this day we call the Diam and battaile, which is ſometimes practiſed amongſt the ſoute for ſport, and exerciſe ſake, but amongſt the horſe I haue not ſeene it practiſed. And as the ſquare goeth to charge with all the ſouldiers, that ſtand in one of the ſides, that is with the front, (for the front is but a ſide of the ſquare) ſo the Rhombe chargeth with one of the points, which is the front of the Rhombe. Whether of them is of moſt uſe in the field, I am not to determine. For the ſquare ſtandeth the practiſe of our daies, beſides the uſage of the Perſians, Sicilians, and moſt Graecians, as Elian ſaith. For the Rhombe the Theſſalians alone (which notwithstanding were acknowledged the beſt horſemen of Greece) vntillſe we allow the Wedge for a parcell of the Rhombe. (A Rhombe being but a double Wedge, as making two wedges, when it is diuided in two) and then haue wee for the Rhombe not onely the Scythians, and Thracians (both nations very good Horſemen) but King Philip Amintas ſonne, and Alexander the great, and his ſucceſſors. Either of both formes haue their reaſons. For the ſquares they, that vſe them, hold opinion (as Elian ſaith) that they were eſtier to frame, and ſitter for ioint mouing of horſe, and ſomer in order of file, and ranke, and that the Commanders iointly charged the enemy, which in no other forme could be done. For the eaſineſſe to frame I ſee no great difference, onely cuſtome, and uſe, muſt in euery forme, yea in the ſquares themſelues make the horſeman ready to know, and take, and keepe his place. The ſame may be ſaid for the ioint mouing of the horſe. Now to file and ranke is common to the ſquare with ſome Rhombes, and as ſoone do in the one, as in the other, the number of the troupe being once knowne, and euery horſeman hauing his place aſſigned, and the former reſolued vpon, into the which it muſt be caſt. For where there are 4 kinds of Rhombes, one, that fileth, and ranketh, another, that fileth, but ranketh not; the third, that ranketh, but fileth not; the laſt that neither fileth, nor ranketh (as Elian teacheth in the next Chapter) The firſt will finde no more difficultie, of filing, and ranking, then the ſquare, the two next alſo the one ranke no, the other file not, yet the want of filing, or ranking hindereth no more the readineſſe of ſpringing them, then the uſe of filing, and ranking helpeth the other. The fourth is rather curious then profitable, as I take, neither doe I finde example of it. And it may be truly affirmed of it, that the ſquare is much eſtier to be ſubmitted. We ſhall haue occaſion to ſpeake of the laſt three in due place. Touching the ioint falling on of the Commanders, I confeſſe the advantage is great. For when the beſt men (ſuch as the Commanders ought

of Elian.

to be) altogether fall vpon the enemy, they are very like to put hard to them. And as it is a great part of ſkill to bring many hands to fight, ſo is it no leſſe, to bring the beſt hands to fight. Many hands make light worke, the beſt hands ſure worke. Now for the Rhombe Elian alledgeth theſe reaſons. Firſt, that it is fitteſt for all encounters, becauſe the horſemen are ready to turne their faces euery way with ſpeed. Then, that they cannot be ſurpriſed in ſlanke, or reare, hauing the beſt men in their ſlanks, and the Commanders in euery point of the Rhombe. And cannot the ſquare turne faces euery way? They can, but not with the ſame advantage. For the Rhombe, which way ſoener faces are turned, remaineth in the firſt forme. And whether it be to the right, or left ſlanke, or to the reare, it keepeth ſtill a euē ſide; and the men of moſt ſervice in the ſides. Beſides that one point alwaies affronteth the enemy. Not vntillike a Calthrop, which howſoever you caſt it to the ground, hath one point bearing right up to wound the horſes feet: But the ſquare in turning faces to either ſanke, altereth the forme of the front. In a broad ſquare, the front at the firſt was longer than the ſides, faces being turned to either ſanke the ſides become longer, than the front; contrariwiſe in the Herſe battaile. Beſides in ſuch turning of faces the ſquare leſſeth the advantage of embattailling, the Commanders, that ſtood in the front, ſtanding now in one of the ſlanks, and being not able to charge the enemy iointly, (the greateſt advantage of that forme) and ſo the front being without Commanders, is (ſubiect) in danger of ſurpriſe, where the Rhombe, which way ſoener faces turne, hath as many Commanders in the front, as at firſt. But let vs take the horſe ſquare in full ſtrength with all Commanders in front; whether ſhall that forme be better, than the Rhombe? I dare not affirme it. For where there are two kinde of fight; One with maine force, the other with ſlight, and Art; in the firſt I will preferre the ſquare, in the laſt the Rhombe. The ſquare for ſlaughter and violent overthrowing, the Rhombe for piercing, and artificial breaking the enemies battaile, which laſt amongſt great Commanders hath alwaies bene accounted the beſt kinde of winning. In the ſquare all the Commanders fall iointly vpon the enemy, and becauſe they are ſuppoſed to be the cheife of the Army, in all likelyhood they will overthrow the forme, and ſlay many. Yet by reaſon of the length of their front, they ſlicke man to man, and can make no ſarre entrance, and the victorie hangeth doubtful, till they haue ſtaine the moſt of them, that reſiſt, and ſo make the reſt to ſlie. The Rhombe contrary wiſe, being narrow, and pointed in the front, firſt forceth a paſſage, with the point, which maketh way to the reſt that follow, and then without great labour piercing further, and further breaketh the aduerſe battaile, & diſperſeth, and putteth them to flight, and after doth execution at pleaſure. Neither can I make a ſitter reſemblance, then by comparing the 2 figures, one to an axe, the other to a wedge, both inſtruments uſed for diuiding ſolid maſſes of wood. For the axe, albeit ſharper, than the wedge, yet hauing the edge drawn out in length, can not by any ſtrength be driven ſure into the wood, but by doubling many ſtroaks, and by much labour cometh at laſt to diuide it. The wedge contrary wiſe, though not ſo ſharpe, being once entered, inſinuateth it ſelfe more by liſle, and liſle with the narrownes of the point, and maine way; the hold it firſt got, at laſt forceth it aſunder, though it be neuer ſo tough. So is it in the ſquare, and Rhombe: whereof the ſquare beginneth, and endeth with violence, the other vſeth firſt cunning, and mildenes, as it were, to enter: being once entered reſembeth a peeces, and diſparteth all that ſtandeth in the way. The manner of our times alloweth not of Rhombes; Experience of former times highly prized them. I will inſiſt vpon the Theſſalians alone, who are accounted the inuention of the Rhombe, & fought alwaies Rhombe wiſe. Polybius had ſeene their ſervice, and bene General of the Horſe in his owne country, and therefore was able to iudge. He giueth this cenſure of them; * that in troups, and being imbatallied,

led, they could not be resisted: to fight man to man in single combat, they had neither will, nor courage. What then should be the reason they should be so powerful in troops? No other, than the forme of their unbattailing, which forme was the Rhombe here mentioned by Aelian. In this forme they commonly beat the Græcians, and Persian squares, and got the reputation of the best horsemen of Europe.

3 The Rhombe and Thracians vied the wedge. The Rhombe is of 4 sides, the wedge but of three: and halfe a Rhombe maketh a wedge, as will be shewed in the next chapter. The wedge was used by the Scythians, and Thracians, and whether King Philip of Macedonia borrowed it of them, I am uncertain. But I rather incline to think, that his Theban Master taught him as well the wedge, as other formes of battailes. The cause of my conjecture is, for that I finde that his fellow scholar Epaminondas beat the Lacedæmonian horse at Mantinea in that forme. Xenophon recounteth the storie to this effect: The enemy (they were the Lacedæmonians) ordered their horse like a Phalange of armed in depth, without mingling foote with them: But Epaminondas made a strong wedge of horse also (for before he tells this) Theban armed were cast into a wedge and ioyned some foote with them, concealing after he had cut in peeces the horse, he should not misse of overcoming the other forces of the enemy. And so going to charge he was not deceived of his hope. Thus Xenophon. Of ioyning horse and light armed together, I have spoken before: And that they were light armed, that Epaminondas ioyned to his horse, Diodorus Siculus sheweth. By Xenophon then it is plaine, that not only the Scythians, and Thracians, but the Græcians also, when they thought it convenient, used the horse-wedge, and that Epaminondas ordered both foote, and horse in a wedge. And considering King Philip was brought up in Epaminondas his Fathers house, and made partaker of the learning wherewith Epaminondas was instructed; it is like in erecting a new military discipline amongst the Macedonians, as he tooke many other things from the Græcians, so he borrowed this forme, having first seen the notable effect thereof at Mantinea.

Now Aelian bringeth reasons, why the wedge was holden better than the square. Let me with leave add a word or two why I take it to be better than the Rhombe. And first it cannot be denied, that the wedge having the same manner of disposition that the Rhombe hath, that is a front ending in a point, where the Captaine standeth; two points of the two flanks, where the flanke-commander standeth, the Lieutenant in the reare, and the best men in the flanks, but it must be as powerful to open the enemies battaile, as the Rhombe is. Then it hath this advantage of the Rhombe: that it bringeth more hands to fight. For let the Rhombe and wedge be framed of an equal number of men, the wedge in figure resembling the forepart of the Rhombe must have the horse, that should be ranged in the reare of the Rhombe, orderly couch'd within the 3 sides thereof: where by both the number of the horse in the sides is increased, and the bulke of the body betwixt flanke and flanke enlarged. And seeing both the Rhombe and the wedge goe to the charge with the point of their front, the wedge both hath the property to pierce, and enter the enemies battaile by art and sleight, as well as the Rhombe, and doth it with more strength, because of the great number of hands in the sides, which will come to fight. Ioyne, that the hinder part of the Rhombe serveth only to avoid surprizes, and worketh nothing in charging. For after the two flanke points are entered, the rest of the Rhombe growing narrower, and narrower toward the Reare, fall to further off from the enemy, and is content only to follow the way, that was made to hand by the front and flanks; without being able to strike a stroke, especially if it preferre the order it ought to keepe: whereas all parts of the wedge are effectually the point to enter the sides even to the flanke corners, where

b Diodor. Sic.
lib. 16. c. 19.
c Xenoph. lib.
1. c. 11.
d Dio. Sicul.
lib. 15. pag. 502.

where the Reare endeth, to dispart and dissuise; and finally to disorder the enemy, whereby the victorie ensueth. And if we may rely upon authority, the authority of King Philip will say much for the wedge. For unlesse he had held it better than the Rhombe, hee would not have chosen, nor accustomed his Macedonians to it, nor Alexander after retained it, if he had not bene of the same opinion. Neither did the event deceive them: for almost in all battailes their horse thus dispos'd carried away the victorie. But, as I before noted, neither Rhombe, nor wedge knew found grace in the eyes of the great Generalls of our daies, nor can we tell what to insist upon, till experience hath taught, how well these formes will agree with the weapons, and service of our moderne wars.

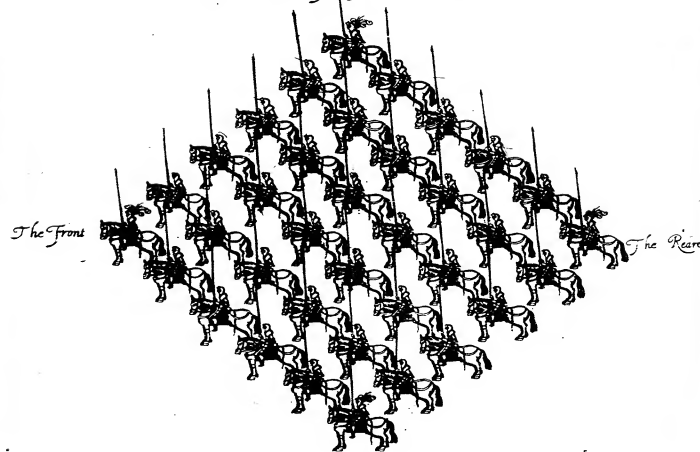
4 The Persians made choice of squares. The square is the third, and last forme of horse-battaile that Aelian mentioneth; whereof there are three kinds; one with a larger front, then flanke; an other with a larger flanke then front; the third, with front, and flanke equal. All these three were used amongst the Persians, and Græcians. For two of the first, Xenophon may witness. When Ageilaus, after Tissaphernes (the King of Persia's Lieutenant in part of the lesser Asia) had broken truce with him, made an incursion into Phrigia, h Xenophon telleth, that the rest of his journey was without impediment, till he came not farre from Dascylium. There when his horsemen galloped to a hill to discouer the country, by chance the horsemen of Pharnabazus (an other of the King of Persians Lieutenants) being about the same number as the Græcians were, and sent by Pharnabazus under the command of Rathynus, and Baucanus his bastard brother, galloped up the same hill, and discovering one the other no further off, than two parts of a furlong, at the first they stood still; the Græcians ordered Phalange-wise 4 in depth, the Barbarians making their front 12 in length, the depth many more. Afterward the Barbarians began first to charge. when they came to hands, all the Græcians that ioyned, broke their staves. The Persians having Cornel darts killed some 12 horsemen, and 2 horses. Hereupon the Græcians fled. But when Ageilaus came with the Armie to the rescue, the Barbarians againe forsooke the field. The Persians then used a square longer in flanke, then front: The Græcians a square longer in front, then flanke. But which of the three squares is most to be esteemed Aelian sheweth in the words following, saying those squares are best, that

5 Double the number of the length, to the number of the depth. What the length, and depth in a battaile are, we have scene before. Yet to understand Aelian the better, let us repeat, that the length of a battaile is the extension of the front; the depth the extension of the flanke. To double then the number of the length to the number of the depth, is to place twice so many men in front, as in flanke. As for the purpose, 6 in front, 3 in flanke; or 8 in front, 4 in flanke; or 10 in front, 5 in flanke. And that this was the manner of the Lacedæmonians appeareth by the Oulamos, or horse-troope, instituted by Lycurgus, which was figured Tetragonally with a square side, and contained in it 50 horse. Now that it could not be a square of number, that is, to have as many horse in flanke, as in front may hereby be shewed, because no square number will make 50. The nearest is 7 times 7, which amounts to 49. But proportioning the number of the length double to the number of the depth, that is 10 in front, and 5 in flanke, even 50 will avile. So that the horse troope of the Lacedæmonians had the number of the length double to the number of the depth, and made a square in the equality of measure of the sides, not in number, which is the Tetragonall figure, whereof Plutarch speaketh. And where Xenophon (as I have alluded before) reporteth that the horsemen of Ageilaus were but 4 in depth, it hindereth not this truth. For, as I noted before, the ordinary array of the Lacedæmonians foote was 8 in depth. Yet did Pausanias the Lacedæmonian

King

Plutarch in
Lycurgo.

Cap 19
A Rhombe filing but not ranking



are of one

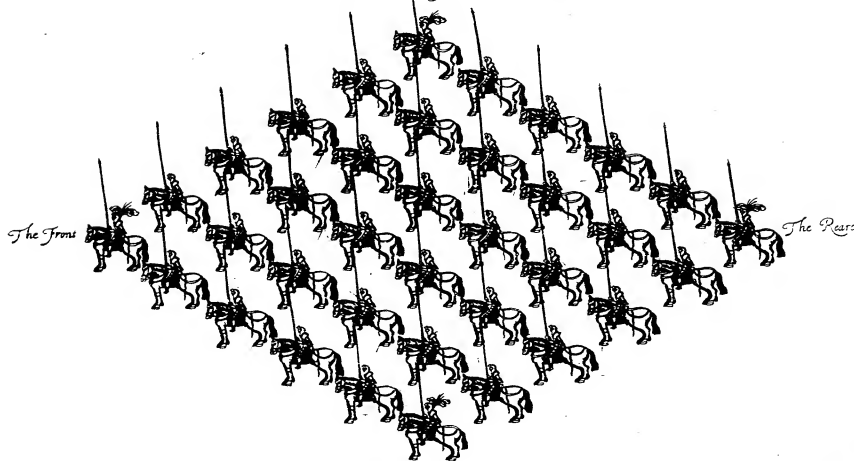
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the front and the looth of the a nke proportionably one to an other.

flanke. And first they place the *Leader*; then one at his right, and an other at his left hand, so distant, that their Horses heads reach vp to his Horses shoulders, as

Cap. 19.

A Rhomb Ranking but not Filing



of Aelian.

the front, and the depth of the flanke proportionably one to an other.

6 When there are as many horse in length as in depth] I noted before in the ninth Chapter, that there were two squares of equall sides, the one of number, the other of figure; which two squares differ in this, that the one maketh unequal sides in the shape of the battaile, the other equall. The first at this day, we call a square of men, the other a square of ground. When the number of the sides is equall in length, and depth, it giveth but halfe so much ground in front, as in flanke. Each souldier, if it be a foote, battaile, occupying a foote, and a halfe of ground in front, when he goeth to charge, where in flanke he must haue 3 foote. And in a horse troupe 3 foote in front, and double, or (as some say) treble as much in flanke. And so are the sides unequal. The even length of flanke and front giveth a like ground to both, and maketh the sides of the figure equall, but the number of the front double to the number of the flanke, whether it be in horse or foote. In foote, because the souldiers in Ranke haue but halfe so much distance, as they haue in file; In ranke a foote and a halfe, in file three foote. In horse, because the length of the horse is much more, than his breadth, and that length is fully stretched out in flanke, the breadth onely in front.

Why Rhombes were first brought into use, and the diuers formes of them.

CHAP. XIX.

THE forme of the Rhombe seemeth to haue beene taken vp for the necessarie vse thereof. For the Capitaine possessing the first place, the next following Horsemen are not to ranke with him, but to come a litle after on both sides; so that the heads of their Horses may reach to his horse shoulders, & on the right, & left hand, and behind, they ought to keepe good distances that too much thronging and clustering together, breed not disorder, whilst some horses being by nature fullen fall a flinging oftentimes, and foule with other; and considering the beast is somewhat long of body, that in turning about he wound not the horsemen, that are in fight, whilst with his heeles he ayemeth at the Horses next vnto him.

They that fashion Horse into Rhombes, so fashion them, that some Rhombes file, and ranke; some neither file, nor ranke; 3 other some file, but ranke not; other ranke, but file not: euery particular whereof standeth thus.

They that would haue a Rhombe both file and ranke make the greatest ranke being the middlemost of an vneuen number, as of 11, or 13, or 15. To which they ioine other ranke before, and behind, euery one conteyning two lesse than the former; as if the greatest ranke consist of 15, the next ranke on either side are to haue but 13, the next on either side of these 11. and so euery one two lesse, till at last you come to 1. And the whole Troupe is to consist of 113 horse.

The halfe Rhombe is called a wedge being fashioned three square; so that the forme thereof appeareth in the Rhombe.

Other haue formed the Rhombe so, that the 4 Horsemen embattailed in that forme, neither file, nor ranke, conceiuing that turnings and other motions will be more easily performed in this figure, nothing hindering before, behind, or in flanke. And first they place the Leader; then one at his right, and an other at his left hand, so distant, that their Horses heads reach vp to his Horses shoulders, as

is said before. And the first row they make of an vneuen number (as 11). The *Leader* of the *Troope* standing in the middlest, and 5 other being laid to him backwardly on either side; so that this *Rank* containeth two sides of the *Rhombe*. Then the *reare-Commander* is placed directly behind the *Leader*, and to him are other ioyned forwardly on either side, and the number of euery following ranke after the first, is to be two lesse than the former, and therefore 4 must be added on either side to the *reare-Commander*, and the number of the second ranke be 9. This ranke maketh two sides *parallel* to the two former sides of the *Rhombe*. The third must be 7, and so forward to one. The whole *Troope* hath in it 36 Horse. *Polihius* expresth the forme by the Greeke letter Δ . and maketh it to consist of 64 m-n.

Other *Rhombes* there are which ⁶ file, but ranke not, and are fashioned thus: They make a file of any number, the *Captaine* of the *Troope* being *file-leader*, and the *Reare-Commander* the last of the file. To both the *flankes* of this file, they lay two other files, either of them one lesse in number, than the first. Thesethy begin to place, euen with the middlest of the distances of the first file on both sides, as if there were 10 in the first file, the next files on either side should haue 9 a peece, and the next after them 8 a peece, and still one lesse in all the rest after-coming files, and so it will fall out, that the Horsemen shall file, but not ranke. This forme is profitable for turning of faces, when need is, from one point of the *Rhombe* to another. Turning to the right hand is called turning to the *flasse*. Turning to the left hand is called turning to the *Raines*. But if a *Troope* be ² to ranke, and not to file, it must be ordered thus: The middle and greatest ranke is to be made of an vneuen number, and the rest of the *rankes* on both sides, laid euen with the distances of this ranke, as was done in the *filings troope*. So shall you haue a *Troope* that *ranketh*, but *fileth* not.

Notes.

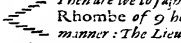
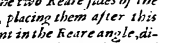
THE former Chapter had a generall diuision of Horse battailes into Rhombes, wedges, and squares; this comprehendeth the sundry figures of Rhombes, and the manner of framing them. Rhombes therefore are of 4 kindes, some *filings*, and *rankings*; some *filings*, not *rankings*; some *rankings*, not *filings*; some neither *filings*, nor *rankings*.

1 The heads of the horses reach to the heades of his shoulders] *Ælian* saith, that in a *Rhombe* the *Captaine* standeth first, and the heads of the next horse reach to his *horse* shoulders. This rule, if it be taken generally, and meant of all *Rhombes*, will deueue: as if for two kinde of *Rhombs* alone, there is nothing more true. T he *Rhombe* neither *filings*, nor *rankings*; and the *Rhombe* *filings*, not *rankings*, haue the followers horses heads advanced to the shoulders of them, that stand before. But the *Rhombe* *filings*, and *rankings*, and the other *rankings* not *filings*, come wholly behind the horse of the *Captaine*, as the figure shewes, and will appear in the verbal description of the *Rhombe*.

2 A *Rhombe* both to file and ranke] To make a *Rhombe* both file and ranke, choicemust first be had of an vneuen number for the ranke the middlest of the *Troope*, where the manner is to begin the *Rhombe*; which number must neither be too great, lest the *Troope* grow also too great, nor too little, lest there be in it no strength. *Ælian* giues 4 11, 13, or 15 for that ranke, and willetb us to begin the frame by placing first the middle ranke, to which the other *rankes* are to be ioyned on both sides, the middle men

against the middle man of the first ranke in a right line: of file, and the rest is like sort, euery *Rank* still decreasing 2 men, till at last in the front, and reare-angle you come to one. The figure of this kinde of *Rhombe* I haue placed in the precedent Chapter; where in the middle ranke is of 11, and the whole troupe of 61, and the horse heads of those that follow reach not to the former horses shoulders.

3 The halfe *Rhombe* is called a wedge] I haue spoken of wedges before, but nothing of the framing of them. *Ælian* here sheweth how they are framed, when he saith, that the forme of them appeareth in the *Rhombe*, and that the halfe *Rhombe* is a wedge. For as in a *Rhombe* *filings*, and *rankings*, you begin with placing the middle ranke first, and so proceed adding on both sides ranke to ranke, till you come to one man in the front: So must you proceed in a wedge, (saying that to the first, and greatest ranke) you ioine the rest only on the one side, abating still in euery ranke 2 men, till you come to the point of the front, where the *Captaine* standeth alone. And this was the ordinarie horse troupe amongst the *Macedonians*, and is described in the next Chapter.

4 That the horsemen neither file nor ranke] The second kinde of *Rhombe* specified here by *Ælian* is directly opposite to the first. The first both filed, and ranked, this neither *filings*, nor *rankings*; and is that kinde, which I noted in the last Chapter, to haue more curiositie, than else. For the rest, what is more easie to frame, than they? In which either files, or *rankes* are laid together; or files alone, or *rankes* alone. And out of that turning both in the inward parts of the *Rhombe*, and the outward (that is the *flankes*) arise, and are without difficulty figured. In this you must first begin with the out-sides, and make two front lines, or sides of the *Rhombe*, and after adde, as many to the *Reare*. And then when the 4 sides are framed, and haue their place, patch up by peece-meale therest of the body within. Wherein if there be not very large distances left betwixt horse, and horse, especially euery one being laid head to shoulder to an other, it is not possible to convey so many horses within the foure sides, as will make up the full *Rhombe*. And yet make it up as you will, the trouble is more, than in the rest of the *Rhombs*. And for the use, I see not how it can be greater, than in the rest, what soeuer is alledged for turnings, and other motions. And the more I thinke upon it, the more I am induced to thinke, that it was the invention of some *Tacticke* master (of whom were great plenty amongst the *Grecians*) who seeing that some *Rhombs* filed, and ranked not; other ranked, but filed not; other both ranked, and filed, and that the two first were opposite to the one against the other, would needs bring in a fourth, neither *filings*, nor *rankings*, to make an opposition likewise against the third. But because this kinde also is specified by *Ælian*, let us see how it is to be framed. *Ælian* for examples sake would haue the *Troope* to consist of 36 horse. First, we must begin with the two front sides of the *Rhombe*, and make them of 11 horse, placing them thus: The *Leader* and *Captaine* in the point; next him backwardly on each side a horseman, his horse head reaching to the shoulders of the *Captaines* horse; then on the outward side of each of these 4 Horsemen, and their horses heads must likewise reach to the shoulders of the next horses before. So must you go on, till you haue in like manner bestowed 2 a peece more on each side, still opening the two sides of the *Rhombe* proportionally. Thus done you haue a *Rhombe* of 9 horse, placing them after this will be in this forme.  *Ælian* saith, that the *Reare* side of the *Rhombe* is to be placed in the same angle, directly opposite to, & yet looking toward the *Captaine*, on either side of him for a ward toward the front 2 Horsemen, their horses shoulders lying euen with the head of the *Reare* side of the *Rhombe*. And after them the other 3 on one side, and 3 on the other in the same proportion. And so haue we the other two sides of the *Rhombe* in this forme.  which being

The Tatticks

ioyned to the former make the 4 sides of the Rhombe, in the framing whereof 20 of the 36 horse are bestowed. There remaine 16, which are thus to be ordered: Within the Rhombe we must at reasonable distance place a horseman behind the Captaine in aright line, and in the manner as before lay 3 to him on each side. The number will amount to 7, and this is the figure.

Then another horseman is to be set at the same distance directly before the Lieutenant, and on each side of him two other toward the front. And these 12 horse ioyned together will be 5 in all, and in this forme. And these 12 horse will fashion out a lesser Rhombe, comprehended within the sides of the first. So are 22 horse disposed of. The 4 that are left are thus to be ordered. In a right line againe after the Captaine, and at the former distance is another horseman to be set: Then 2, one of the one side, & the other of the other side of him, their horses heads reaching to his horses shoulders thus. The horseman left must supply the void place, standing directly before him that stood next before the Lieutenant. And this is the true description of the Troope neither filing, nor ranking. I haue bene the longer in describing it, because the figure grauen is not fully to my minde, no horse head reaching to the shoulders of the horse, that standeth before him.

5. Polybius maketh it to consist of 64 men] Aelian took the number of 36 horse to frame this Rhombe, Polybius requireth 64. The number is not materiall, so the forme be observed. If you make it of 64, you are to take 15 horse for the 2 front sides, and 13 for the 2 reare sides, and so in euery ranke within to diminish 2, as you did in the former.

6 Which file, but ranke not] The third kinde of Rhombe fileth, but ranketh not. It is easie to frame. Take what number of horse you please, and make a file, then lay to the distances betwixt horse, and horse of that file on each flanke two other files, each file containing one lesse in number than the first. And the heads of the files are to be laid right against the space which is betwixt the Captaine, and his follower, and the rest of the horses against the other spaces successively. In all the paires of files, that follow, and are laid to the flanks, you must still diminish a horse a peece, till you come to the points, which haue but one either of them. And of this abatement of one in euery file, both front, and reare, and flanks grow into points, and make a Rhombe: As if the euen number in euery file, a square buttyle would arise. See the figure. This was the forme the Thessalians taught in, as appeareth by Aelian.

7 Turning to the right hand] The turnings of horsemen and footmen to the right, and left hand, are not termed by the same names. And the difference cometh of the diuersitie of weapons carried on the right, or left side. The horseman in his right hand held his staffe, in the left the reins of his bridle. The armed foote in his right hand his pike, on the left shoulder his Target. Hence was it, that when the horseman was commanded to turne to the right hand, they bid him turne to his staffe, the footeman to his pike. When to the left hand, they bid the horseman turne to the Reins, the footman to the Target.

8 To ranke, and not to file] This is the last kinde of Rhombe, and it ranketh, but fileth not. It is made by a contrary way to the former. The filing Rhombe began at the front point, & re-re-point, & proceeded to the flanks. This beginneth at the flanke points, & proceedeth to the front, and reare. First therefore a ranke is to be laid of what number you list. Aelian would haue it of an euen number, but it will fall out as well in an euen number, as the figure sheweth. To the distances of this ranke you must lay 2 ranks more, one on either side, whole number must be one lesse a peece, than the former ranke. Thus continue laying ranks still toward the front, and reare, and in euery paire of ranks diminish one a peece, till you come to the points, either of which haue but one, namely the Captaine, & the Lieutenant, and the Rhombe will ranke, and not file.




CHAP. XX.

1. sic cap. 46

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The Tatlicks

ioyned to the former make the 4 sides of the Rhombe, in the framing whereof 20 of the 36 horse are bestowed. There remaine 16, which are thus to be ordered: Within the Rhombe we must at reasonable distance place a horseman behind the Captaine in aright line, and in the manner as before lay 3 to him on each side. The number will amount to 7, and this is the figure.

Then another horseman is to be set at the same distance directly before the Lieutenant, and on each side of him two other toward the front. And these 12 horse ioyned together will be 3 in all, and in this form.  And these 12 horse fashioned out a lesser Rhombe, comprehended within the sides of the first. So are 32 horse disposed of. The 4 that are left are thus to be ordered. In a right line againe after the Captaine, and at the former distance is another horseman to be set. Then 2, one of the one side, & the other of the other side of him, their horses heads reaching to his horses shoulders thus.  The horseman left must supply the void place, standing directly before him that stood next before the Lieutenant. And this is the true description of the Troope neither filing, nor thus.  nor ranking. I haue bene the longer in describing it, because the figure drawn is not fully to my minde, no horse head reaching to the shoulders of the horse, that standeth before him.

5 Polybius maketh it to consist of 64 men. Alian took the number of 36 horse to frame this Rhombe, Polybius requirith 64. The number is not materiall, so the forme be obserued. If you make it of 64, you are to take 15 horse for the 2 front sides, and 13 for the 2 reare sides, and so in euery ranke within to diminish 2, as you did in the former.

6 Which file, but ranke not? The third kinde of Rhombe fileth, but ranketh not. It is easie to frame. Take what number of horse you please, and make a file; then lay to the distances betwixt horse, and horse of that file on each flanke two other files, each file containing one lesse in number than the first. And the heads of the files are to be laid right against the space which is betwixt the Captaine, and his follower, and the rest of the horses against the other spaces successiue. In all the pairs of files, that follow, and are laid to the flanks, you must still diminish a horse a peece, till you come to the point, which haue but one either of them. And of this abatement of one in euery file, both front, and reare, and flanks grow into points, and make a Rhombe: As if the euen number in euery file, a square battail would arise. See the figure. This was the forme the Thebaisians fought in, as appeareth by Alian.

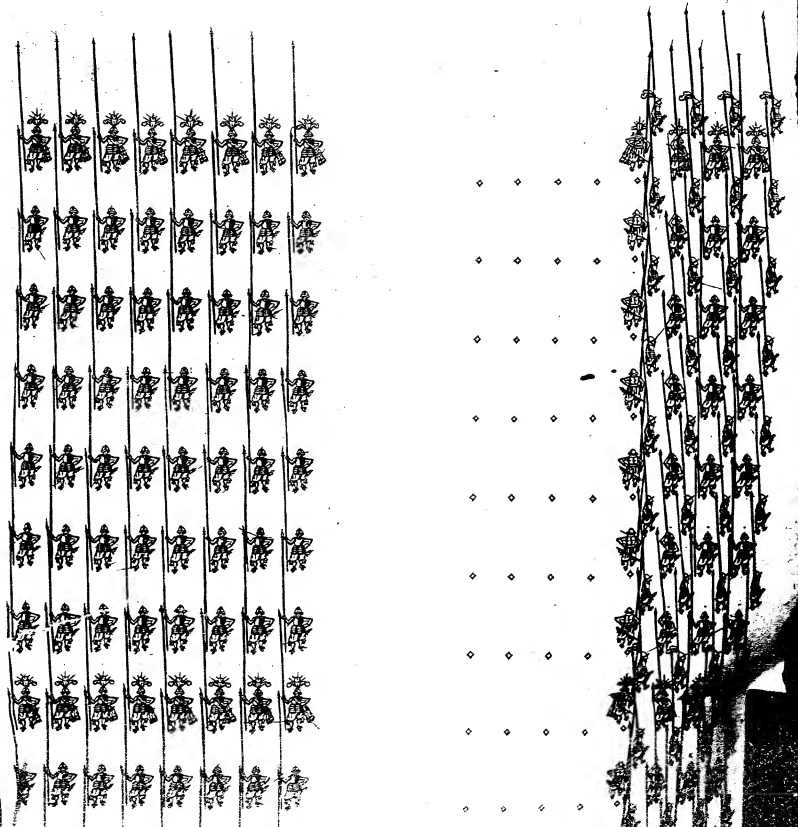
Turning to the right hand? The turnings of horsemen and footmen to the right, and left hand, are not termed by the same names. And the difference consisteth of the diuersitie of weapons caried on the right, or left side. The horseman in his right hand held his staffe, in the left the raines of his bridle. The armed foote in his right hand his pike, on the left shoulder his Target. Hence was it that when the horseman was commanded to turne to the right hand, they bid him turne to his staffe; the footman to his pike. When to the left hand, they bid the horseman turne to the Raines, the footman to the Target.

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CHAP. XX.

Cap. 20.
Countermarche by Ranke

The Countermarche in all

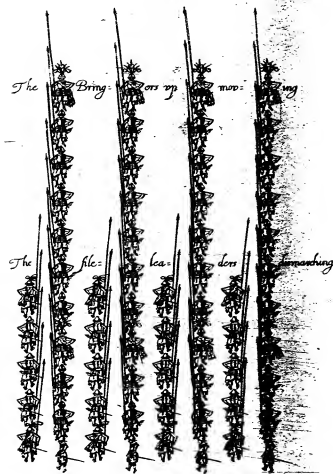


The Syrian Countermarch

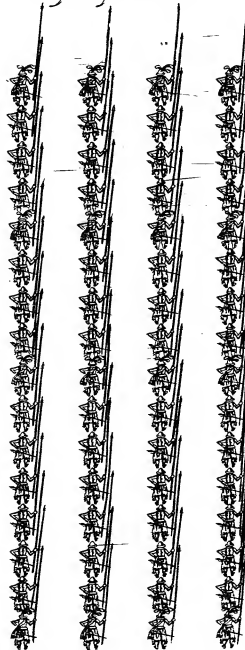


The Front in the first Standing

The Countermarch in action

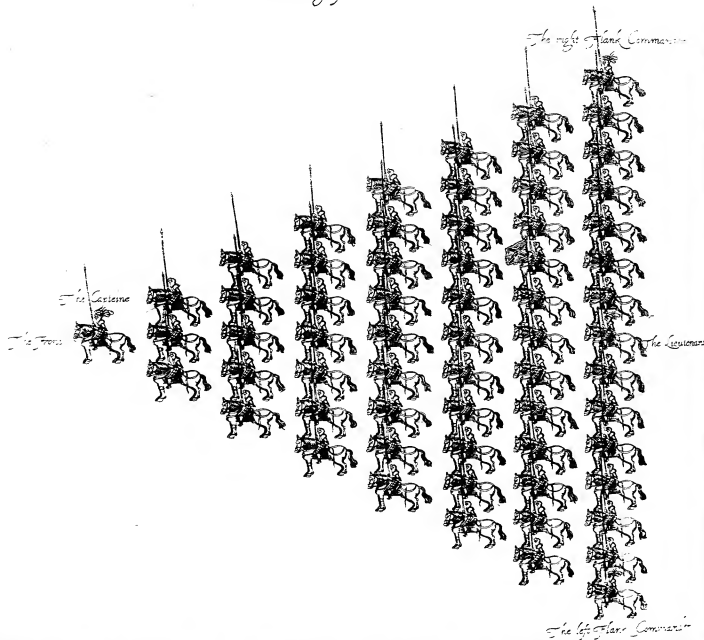


The front after Countermarch



The front ground legs after the Countermarch and

The ordinary horse troupe
consisting of 64.



The place of Horsemen in the field, the number of an usual horse troupe,
the degrees, and name of the officers of the Horse
in general.

CHAP. XX.

THE Troopes of Horse, as the light-armed, are placed sometime before the
Phalange, sometime on the right, or left hand in flanke of the Phalange, some-
time behind the light-armed in the Reare. For our purpose, let them be
placed in the Reare, and let the first Troope be of 64 men, and the first ranke
thereof 15 Horse. The next 13. The next 11; and in all the rest abate 2, till
you come to the last, which is one.

He shall carry the Cornet, that standeth in the second ranke next the Ranke-
Commander on the left hand. All the Troopes shall be 64 in number. The horse-
men in all 4096. Two Troopes are called an Epitarchy of 128 horse. Two Epi-
tarchies a Tetrastichy of 256 horse. Two Tetrastichies a Hipparchy of 512.
Two Hipparchies a Ehipparchy of 1024 horse. Two Ehipparchies a Tels of
2048 horse. Two Tels make an Epitagma of 4096 horse.

Notes

Liberto of Squares and Rhombes, usual horse battailes amongst the Grecians.
Now followeth the horse battaile of the Macedonians, of which Ælian hath
thus afterward: This forme of horse battaile is called a wedge by Taciticks, and it
was invented by Philip King of Macedonia, who placed his best men before, that by
them the weaker might be held in, and enabled to the charge. As in a spear, or
sword, the point whereof by reason of sharpnes quickly piercing maketh way for, and
leaveth in the middle blunt yran. I have spoken somewhat of the wedge in the two last Chap-
ters. Ælian in this Chapter sheweth the number, and manner of framing it, and how
many troups ought to attend the Phalange, and under what offices, and degrees.

1 Let the first troupe be of 64 men. The number of the wedge ought to be 64
horse. You make it beginning (as the Rhombe that ranked, but stand not) with a ranke
of 15 horse. Then must you proceed toward the front, with an other ranke of 13, the
middle man filing with the middle man of the first ranke, and the rest with the rest. And
so you are to continue abating still two in every following ranke, till at last you come to one,
who is the Commander of the Troupe, and standeth in the point of the front.

2 He shall carry the Cornet. The place of the Cornet is not right set downe in
the figure. He there standeth on the right hand of the middle man of the second ranke,
whereas he should stand on the left. And you must not account the second ranke to be the
ranke next to the Commander in the front; but as Ælian saith, that was secondly placed
after the first consisting of 15, which was in the Reare. So that the Cornet is to stand
in the next ranke to the Reare.

But here is nothing said concerning the distances, that ought to be betwixt 1 horse, and
horse. Of the distances betwixt horse, and horse is hath spoken in the 11 Chap. But of the
distances betwixt horse, I finde nothing, but general words. That which I write in
Ælian, I will supply out of other Authors. We must understand then, that two kinde
of distances were observed amongst horsemen; one for marching, an other for fight.

n Polyb lib. 2.
c. 3. A.

o Leo cap. 17.
§ 59.

in marching there ought to be 6 foute betwixt horse and horse. Ælian hath before given this distance to the foute. And that horse hold it likewise appeareth by Polybius. Who comprehending Callicrates for carelessness in describing the battaile betwixt Alexander and Darius at Issos, specially taketh this: That he placed thirty thousand horse, and thirty thousand mercenaries, in fourscore furlongs of length. whereas the place was not capable of halfe the horse. His words have this sense: The order of horse, when they are prepared for fight, is for the most part 8 in depth. And there is a distance to be left in front betwixt every troupe, to give liberty to wheele and double wheele. So that one furlong will containe 800 horse; and 10 furlongs 8000; 4 furlongs 3200: And eleuen thousand, and two hundred horse will fill the space of 14 furlongs in length. The words seeme at first somewhat obscure, being well weighed they will be cleare enough. Polybius saith, that these 800 horse were ordered 8 in depth, and that they took up a furlong of ground in length. There must be therefore of them a hundred files. For a hundred files of 8 horse a peece, will arise to 800 horse. Compare then these 100 files, (the length of the battaile) to the length of a furlong. And seeing a furlong containeth 400 Cubits, or six hundred foute, every file shall have 4 cubits, or 6 foute space betwixt them. And so the distance betwixt file and file in a march will be 4 Cubits, or 6 foute. The other distance of three foute appeareth in Leo, whose words stand thus: Put the case, that the battaile is of 600 horse in length, and 500 in depth, seeing that every horse in length of the battaile possesseth three foute in breadth, the number of foute will amount to 1800. And seeing againe that every horse in depth possesseth 8 foute, there will arise hereof 4000 foute; so that in the foure-sided figure, out of the length of 1800, and the depth of 4000 foute arise 720 Myriades of square foute. And the Perimeter alone of the outward foure sides containeth 11600 foute. And because 6 foute make a fathome, and a 100 fathoms make a furlong, and 7 furlongs, and a halfe, make a mile, the whole Perimeter of 11600 foute will come to two mile, and a halfe, and neare a 10th part. In this distance therefore according to the closest order, or shutting, the thirty thousand horse are contained. But if they stand not so close, you must alter your account according to the thinnesse, and out of the greatnesse of place coniecture of the multitude of the people. so Leo. Which place albeit it seeme to require a large interpretation, because many things worth the noting offer themselves: in it, yet for this time I will only insist upon that, which I first preponnded, that is the distance of three foute betwixt horse, and horse, when they goe to charge (for that is the meaning of Leo, when he speaketh of the closest order) which distance is expressly here set downe. And the matter will yet seeme more cleare, if we adde the words of Leo in the Paragraph next, but one, to this, which are these: The oldest Tactics in ordering of foute Battailles give every man at the first distance foure Cubits; when the battaile is closed two Cubits; when ferred and shut one Cubit. Out of which proportion a Scout may exactly discover by the quantitie of the place the number, not onely of horse, but of foute also. These oldest Tactics that Leo mentioneth agree with Ælian, as wee have seene. But where the foute have three distances, the horse are to have but two. The open order of six foute they ought to have, and likewise that of three foute, nearerer they cannot come together, because of the breadth of their horse, and because they are to have roome sufficient for the wheeling of their weapons.

All the Troupes are to be in number 64. A Troupe consists of 64 men, and so the Phalange belong 64 Troupes, as the Phalange containeth 64 Ensignes, or Sym-
tagmas.

tagmas of armed foute. To which Ensignes the 64 Troupes of horse are proportioned. Their place is according to Ælian after the light-armed, not on troupe after, or behind another, but one beside another, in one front, and that front in a right line, which stretcheth out, as long as the Phalange of armed it selfe. Now the files of the armed being 1024 in number, and the number of the horse in the last ranke (which containeth the length of the Horse-battaile, and should answer the number of files) but 960, we must seeke out a proportion to make the length of both equal one to another. The difference then betwixt them in length is 64 men, which in order take up 192 foute. And where there goe foure Phalangarchies to a fourfold Phalange, and 16 troupes of horse are placed behind every Phalangarchie, we must divide these 192 foute into foure parts, every of which parts will amount to 48 foute, and give to each troupe three foute distance one betwixt another (for distances betwixt one troupe, and another, Polybius holdeth necessary) and so shall the 16 troupes of horse take up as much ground in length as a Phalangarchie. The one containing 256 files in length which occupy 768 foute of ground, and the other 240 men in the last ranke, which occupy 720 foute. To which adding 48 foute of distance, there ariseth the even number of 768. And so shall the 64 troupes of horse be even in length with the fourefold Phalange.

The names of the Offices, and Commands of the Horse follow, wherein as I before noted in the foute, we must not presse too neare the property of words, but take them, as they have become used among Soldiers.

3 Two troupes are called an Epilarchie. One troupe is called Ile, and the Commander an Ilarch; for so he is termed before in Ælian. Two troupes an Epilarchie, as the Commander an Epilarch, as it were a Commander over two Iles, troupes. He hath 128 Horse under his command. o Cap. 18.

4 A Tarentinarchie. Of Tarentines mention is made in the second Chapter. The name of a Tarentinarchie is not given to this Troupe, because it consisted of Tarentines, but because of likelihood the Tarentine horsemen had so many in a troupe. Let it be, as it will, it signifieth here a troupe of 256 Horse.

5 An Hipparchie. Properly signifieth the command of horse, and Xenophon useth the word Hipparch for the General of horse; but Ælian, and the Tactics use it for the command of 512 horse.

6 An Ephipparchie. As it were a command over two Hipparchies, or over 1024 horse.

7 A Telos. The name of Telos is given both to a body of horse, and to a body of foute. A Merarchie was called by some Telos (saith Ælian before) and contained 2048 armed. The Telos of horse containeth 2048 horse. So the bodies are equal in number. The word sometimes signifieth a Command, or Dignitie, from which signification this body, as seemeth, hath the name.

8 Epitagma. The whole body of light-armed was called an Epitagma, which name is given likewise to the whole body of horse comprising 4096 horse. It may be they are both so called, because they are placed behind the Armed, as I noted before. For that place Ælian assigneth unto them.

*The diligence to be used in choice, and exercise of the best
formes of Battails.*

CHAP. XXI.

TH^e Inventions and conceits of those, that liued in old time, about *Troopes of Horse* are declared, in what forme euery one was cast, and for what cause some vsed one forme, some another. Now it behoueth (as in things that carry with them great difference) not carelesly, and negligently, to rely vpon the bare precepts; but rather by daily exercise to make tryall of euery kinde of figure, and so attayning to the perfect knowledge of that, which is readiest, and of most advantage, to admit and receiue it in true fight. For it were great simplicitie, considering in matters of lesse importance men by curious inquiry reach to the exact finding out of many things, herein not to ground vpon perfect and sure experience, before we come to ioine with the enemy.

Troopes may be enlarged or lessened, as it shall seeme convenient to him, that hath the command.

*Of Chariots; the names, and degrees of the
Commanders.*

CHAP. XXII.

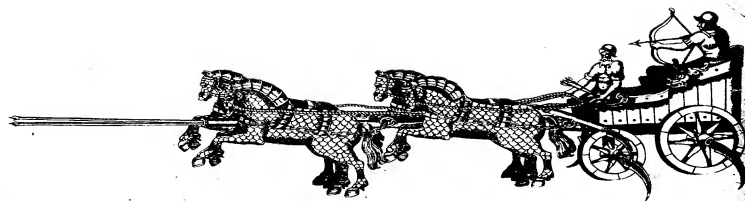
AS for ordering *Chariots* and *Elephants*, albeit they are worne out of vse, yet to make vp the measure of this discourse, I will remember their names, as they are set downe in ancient writers. In the Art of ordering Chariots for the field, they call two Chariots a ¹ *Zygarchy*; Two *Zygarchies* a ² *Zyzygi*; Two *Zyzygies* an ³ *Epyzyzygi*; Two *Epyzyzygies* an ⁴ *Hartamarchy*; Two *Hartamarchies* a ⁵ *wings*; Two *wings* a ⁶ *Phalange*.

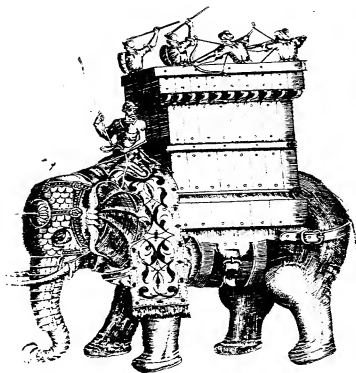
A man may vse many and sundry *Phalanges* of *Chariots*, and yet retain the same names in euery *Phalange*. Some haue framed simple *Chariots* to serue with all; other some haue armed them with *Sithes* prominent and standing out on each side.

Notes.

There were two kinde of Chariots used of ancient time, the one a simple Chariot, the other a Chariot armed with sithes. The first kinde was used by the Heroes (as they terme them, that is the renowned Souldiers of old, such as were Achilles, Hector, Cynus, Aneas, Turnus) as appeareth by Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and other Poets. The last was brought in by the Generalls of later times, especially by those that reigned in Asia, and in Africa. For the ^m Europeans haue counted them fruitlesse, and vaine mockeries, and amongst them you shall hardly finde any mention of Chariots. Alian toucheth them onely, because both they, and Elephants were in his time growne out of vse. Wherefore I meane likewise to passe them over sleightly, onely directing the Reader, that is desirous to vnderstand their manner of fight to places of Historie, where they are mentioned. And first see for their

Forme.





Form. Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 6. 152. D. E. & 156. B. C. de exped. Cyr. lib. 1. 264
A. B. Liu. decad. 4. lib. 7. 142. A. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 17. 596. Quin. Curt. lib. 4. 119
& lib. 8. 371.

Their violence, Diod. Sicul. lib. 17. 593.

Their place in the bataille, Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 6. 168. C. D. Liu. decad. 4. lib. 7.
142. A. Diod. Sicul. lib. 14. 408.

Remedies against them, Diodor. Sicul. lib. 17. 592. 593. Xenoph. de exped. Cyr.
lib. 1. 265. Liu. decad. 4. 142. Quint. Curt. lib. 4. 141. Plutarch. in Sylla.

I come to the names of the Commands of Chariots.

1 A Zygarchie] *The command of two Chariots; as it were a yoke of Chariots.*
2 A Syzygy] *The command over two yokes, as it were, of Chariots yoked toge-
ther; that is over 4 Chariots.*

3 An Epizygy] *The command over four yokes of Chariots, that is over eight
Chariots.*

4 An Harmatarchie] *Properly the command of Chariots. But used by Ælian
for the command of 16 Chariots.*

5 A wing] *As soote, so Chariots, and Elephants, had their wings of bataille. To
the wing went 32 Chariots. Yet finde I this order of imbatailing Chariots no where, but
in Ælian. He that will, let him read the places, that I have noted before, for the ordering
of Chariots. Notwithstanding I can not doubt, that the names given here by Ælian, are
taken out of ancient writers.*

6 A Phalange] *It consisteth of 64 Chariots; and wee here see, that Chariots also
had their Phalanges, as well as soote, and Horse.*

*Of Elephants; the names, and degrees of
their Commanders.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Touching Elephants, he that is Commander of one Elephant is called 1 *Zarcha*;
Of two 2 *Therarcha*, and the body 2 *Therarchy*; Of four 3 *Epitherarcha*, and
the body an *Epitherarchy*; Of eight 4 *Ilarcha*, and the body an *Ilarchy*; Of 16 5 *E-
lephantarcha* and the body an *Elephantarchy*; Of 32 6 *Kerarcha*, and the body a
Kerarchy. That which consisteth of 64 wee call 7 a Phalange of Elephants, as if a
man should name the Commander of both the wings *Phalangarcha*.

Notes.

The use of Elephants was greater amongst the people of Asia and Africa. Those of
Europe esteemed them not much. And yet we finde, that they were brought into the
field by the Romans also; who first saw Elephants in Italy in the warres they had against
King Pyrrhus. * The Indian Elephant was preferred before the African for greatnesse
of body, strength, and courage. Many things are written concerning the service of Ele-
phants. But because Ælian toucheth no more, then the names of the bodies, and the de-
grees of Commanders, I will only note such things, as I finde concerning them in histories.
Their kinde of armor, and furniture I have taken out of Liuy, and expressed them as
weere, as I could, in figure.

For

For their power, strength, and manner of fight, see Diodor. Sicul. lib. 17. 609. & lib. 19. 717. Polyb. lib. 1. 35. D. & lib. 5. 425. C.

Their place in battaile, Diodor. Sicul. lib. 17. 685. Arrian. lib. 5. 111. Liu. decad.

4. lib. 7. 141. B. Appian. in Syriac. 107. Polyb. l. 1. 34. D.

The distance one from an other. Arrian. lib. 5. 111.

Light armes in the distances between Elephant and Elephant, Diodor. Sicul. lib. 17. 609. & lib. 18. 635. & lib. 19. 685. & 716. Phurarch. in Pyrrho.

Remedies against Elephants, Diodor. Sicul. lib. 18. 665. & lib. 19. 717. Polyb. l. 1. 1.

42 A. Hirt. de bell. Africani. 416. Liu. decad. 3. lib. 7. 194. C.

I have noted before the impropriety of names given to militarie bodies as well in the armed and the light armed foote, as in horse troops, and in Chariots. That defect is no lesse in Elephants. The Commanders and commands of them having names, which were at first large, and improper enough, but afterward made good by use, and received by the Tactics as significant to expresse the things, for which they were invented. The first is given to him that is to command one Elephant. Who is called

1. *Zourchos*] The Commander of a living creature, that is of one Elephant. The next is

2. *Therarchos*] A Commander of Beasts: which name is appropriated to him, that commandeth two Elephants, and the body it self is named a *Therarchie*.

3. An *Epitherarcha*] Having the authoritie over the *Therarchie* and the body is called an *Epitherarchie* comprizing foure Elephants.

4. An *Ilarch*] As it were the Commander of a troupe; and the body is called an *Ilarchie*. It is commonly applied to horse, and signifieth a horse troupe, and *Ilarcha* the Captaine. But here *Ilarcha* signifieth the Commander of 8 Elephants.

5. An *Elephantarch*] A Commander of Elephants; as though the other bodies before mentioned were not Elephants. Such straights are men often times driven unto in devising new names for new things, which notwithstanding passe afterward and growe familiar by use. *Elephantarcha* commandeth 16 Elephants, and the command is called an *Elephantarchie*.

6. A *Keratarch*] The Commander of a wing, the body a *Keratarchie*, having in it 32 Elephants. A wing of Chariots had as many.

7. A *Phalange*] This is the greatest body and consisteth of 64 Elephants. But as Chariots may be ordered into many Phalanges, and yet the same names retained in euery one of the Phalanges, so it is in Elephants. For that armies haue had in them at once a

c Polyb. lib. 1. boue 64 Elephants appeareth by Histories. Polybius, and Diodor Sicul. testifie, ^c the first that the Carthagineans, ^d the last that King Porus against Alexander had the one 140, the other 130 Elephants in their armies. ^e The same Polybius saith that Ptolomey had against Antiochus 73 Elephants in his army, and Antiochus 102. And ^f Plutarch reporteth that Androcottus, King of a part of India, gaue to Seleucus at one time 500 Elephants.

The names of military motions expressed in this booke.

CHAP. XXIV.

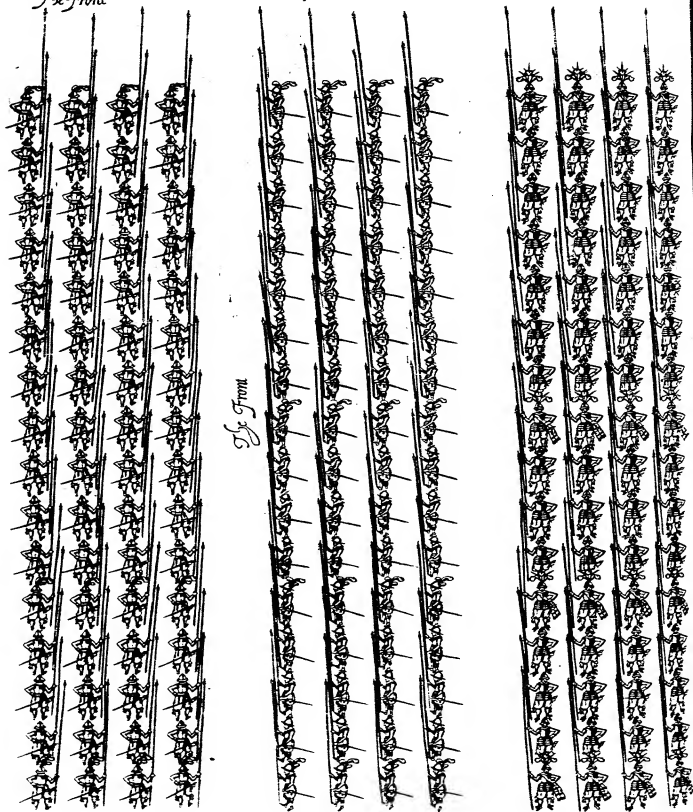
Thus haue we set downe in particular the kindes of perfect Forces together with the severall names of euery body; Which being premised, it seemeth
fit

Metabole or Faces turned
to the right hand

As or one Turning of Faces to the
right hand

The first standing

The Front



of Ælian.

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fit to deliuer the words of exercise, that when the Commander, shall will any thing to be done, the Souldier in daily experience acquainted before with the signification of euery of them, and with the mouing in each figure may easily performe and execute, whatsoeuer is commanded.

There is a motion called *Clipsis* whereof one kinde is to the Pike, the other to the Target; Another is called *Metabole*; another *Epistrophe*; another *Anastrophe*; another *Periphasmus*; another *Esperiphasmus*; besides we lay to *file*; to *ranke*; to returne to the first posture; to *countermarch*; to *double*. Likewise we vie the words *Induction*; and *Deduction* to the right, or left hand; a *broad-Phalange*; a *deepe-Phalange*; and *unuen-fronted Phalange*; and *Parembolæ*; and *Protaxis*; and *Entaxis*; and *Hypotaxis*; and *Epitaxis* and *Prostaxis*. The signification of which words I will shortly deliuer. And yet I am not ignorant, that the precepts of warre are not by all *Tacticks* expressed in the same tearmes.

Notes.

A Ælian in the Chapters precedent, hath numbred up all kinds of forces, as well foot, as Horse, and Chariots, and Elephants; that in ancient time were accounted necessary for warre. And hath giuen them their armor, and furniture, and distinguishing them into martiall bodies, and imbattailed them, and taught the distances, that they ought to hold in fight. It followeth now that he speake of motions military; which are the life of an armie, and onely giue meane of victorie; and without which all preparation of forces is vaine, and availeth nothing in the field, nor to the end, for which they were leued. This Chapter then containeth the names of these motions; the following Chapters the particular explication of them. To which we will note, what we finde in ancient writers. For the signification of the words, I referre them to the severall Chapters, where they are expounded.

Of turning, and double turning the Souldiers faces,
as they stand embattailed.

CHAP. XXV.

Clipsis or turning of the face, is the particular motion of euery Souldier declining his face either to his Pike, that is to the right hand, or to his Target, that is to the left hand. The vse of it is, when the enimie sheweth himselfe in flank² to encompass our wings, or else to charge vs: or for some other cause, whereof I will speake in convenient place. 3 Two turnings of the face towards the same side transferre the sight of the Souldier to the reare of the battaile. And this kinde of motion is called *Metabole*: being also vsed either to the Pike, or to the Target. In the first standing the mouing of the Souldiers face toward the Pike is called *Clipsis*, the second mouing the same way *Metabole*. For *Metabole* is the conuersion of euery mans face particularly to the place, which was behinde his backe. And the same that *Metabole* is in each severall Souldier, the same is *Periphasmos*, or wheeling about in the whole battaile. There are 4 two kinds of *Metabole*, the one from the enimie, the other to the enimie. *Metabole* is defined to be a changing of euery mans face in particular from the front to the

reare;

The Front

reare; or contrariwise. Turning about from the enimie is, when the Souldier turneth his face twice towards the Pike; To the enemy, when hee turneth twice towards the Target.

Notes.

Foure kinde of Motions are set downe by *Ælian* whereby upon any occasion the battaile may be somewhat changed: Turning of faces, countermarch, wheeling, and doubling, whereof the first may be used, in what order [seuer your battaile standeth the second only in open order, the third in close order only, the fourth either in close, or open order. Clifis, or turning of faces, wherof this Chapter treateth, albeit it may be brought in also in open Order; Yet it is not done for the most part but in close order, and then especially, when none of the other motions haue place. The Græcians alwayes conuented to bring their file Leaders, that is their best men, to fight. In open Order they chose to countermarch; In close Order, hauing place, to whele their battaile about, and so turne the face of it against the enemy. If they could doe neither of these, they came to the last remedy, which was turning of faces of every particular man in the battaile.

1 Clifis, or turning of faces] This motion is of lesse paines then any other, but of no lesse importance, or necessitie. In the rest the Phalange changeth the place, or the forme: In this it holdeth both, and yet is ready for any attempt of the enemy. Onely every Souldier in particular turneth his countenance to the right or left hand, as he is commanded. To turne his face to the Pike is to turne to the right hand, because that hand bore the pike, to turne to the Target is to turne to the left hand, because the Macedonians caried their targets on their left shoulder. For the use of this turning of Faces, *Ælian* saith, It hath place when the enimie sheweth himselfe in flanke

2 To incompasse, our wings] Clifis is no more, then bearing faces to the right, or left hand, that is to our wings. When then we finde our enemies, to incompasse our right wing, wee turne our faces, and weapons that way to receive him: to the left, when he cometh to charge vs on that side. If on both sides then turne we the faces of our Phalange halfe to the right, halfe to the left hand; which is the Antistonus Phalange wherof *Ælian* speaketh hereafter. Briefely, there is almost none of the marching Phalanges which are afterward described, but it hath neede of this motion. Besides if upon any occasion the Phalange be to come from any of the flanks, you are only to command Turning of faces to that flanke, and then to lead on. I will giue an example, or two. * Alexander at Arbela hauing imbattaild his armie to fight with *Darius*, had intelligence, that *Darius* had throwed the ground betwixt the two armies with Calthropes. He commanded therefore the right wing, which himselfe led, to turne faces to the right hand, and follow him, to the end to go round about, and auoide the places, that were sowed with Calthropes. *Darius* marching against him to the left hand, disioyned his troups of horse, and *Alexander* taking the advantage, and giuing in quickly betwixt the spaces, put *Darius* to flight. If *Alexander* had marched on with the right front, he had fallen upon the Calthropes. To auoide them, he used the benefit of this motion, and turning faces to the right hand he led on, until hee had passed the danger, and then turning againe to the first posture, went to charge, and defeated the enimie. Another example is in * Polybius, who describing the battaile betwixt *Machanidas* the Lacedæmonian Tyrant, and *Philopœmen* the Achean Generall, telleth, that *Machanidas* hauing in the left wing put the Achean mercenaries to flight, followed hard the chafe. *Philopœmen* as long, as there was hope, indeuoured by all means to stay his men: when he saw them vtterly defeated, hee hastied to the right

right wing, and perceiuing the enimie buie in chafe, and the place void, where the sight had bene, commanding the first *Acarchies* to turne their faces to the right hand, he led them on with high speede, not yet breaking the order of their imbattailing. And quickly leaping upon the forsaken ground, hee both cut betwixt them, that gaue chafe, and home, and withall got the aduantage of the vpper ground against the left wing of the armed. Whereby hee obtained the victory. If *Philopœmen* had in this action used wheeling of his battaile, which only was the other motion, which would haue serued his turne, besides the troublesome necessity of the wheeling about, he should haue bene forced to haue used two wheelings, and so failed of the celerity, which was at that time requisite. Faces were turned in a vice, and he made himselfe Master of the ground, hee desired, before hee could haue wheeled once his battaile.

3 Two turnings of the Souldiers face] Clifis, or turning faces to the right, or left hand, consisteth of one turning and moueth no further, then the side. If the motion be to the reare, it hath two turnings, and is called *Metabole*, which is defined to be a changing of every mans face in particular from the front to the reare, or contrariwise. And as wheeling of the whole body carrieth about the fronts of the battaile to the reare; So doth *Metabole* turne the face of every particular Souldier, and maketh him looke from the front to the reare. The word properly signifieth a change, which happeneth herein, when the souldiers are changed from the front to the reare, or contrariwise. The use of *Metabole* is principally to resist the enemy that giues on upon the reare. * So *Pyræus* being entred the Citie *Argos* with a few, and ouerpressed with multitude, retired by little and little, and defended himselfe, often turning his and his souldiers faces against the enemy. * So the armie of *Cyrus* the elder retiring from the wallies of *Babylon*, oftentimes abouted their faces to the left hand, and waited their enimie, who were reported to be on foote, and ready to come and charge them. And if the enimie assault both the front, and reare, it hath bene the manner to continue halfe the souldiers in each file with their faces to the front, and command the other halfe to turne their faces to the reare against the enimie behind. And this forme is called *Phalanx Amphistomos* ascribed by *Ælian* cap. 38. And sometimes it is used to speed our march, and prevent the enimie, as was said before of Clifis. * *Agellus* made an incursion into the Territory of the *Thebans*, and finding a Trench, and Rampe cast up by the *Thebans* for defence of their Countrey, and onely two narrow waies betwixt, he cast his armie into a hollow *Plinthium*, or square, and led it against the left hand passage, whither all the *Thebans* flocked for defence. But hee turning about faces from the reare, hastied away, and gained the other passage, where no man was present to resist, and entring spoiled the Countrey, and returned without impeachment.

4 There are two kinde of *Metaboles*] Before were rehearsed two kinde of turnings of faces about, one to the pike, the other to the target, here is added two more, one from the enimie and the other against the enimie; which are all one indeed, and differ only in name. What the true meaning of these turnings should be, I am in doubt, *Ælian* expounding them one way, *Suidas* an other. *Ælian* esteemes them by the right, and left hand, *Suidas*, albeit he haue that signification also, esteemes them by the front and reare. Therefore *Suidas* defines the turning from the enimie to be a turning about; toward the reare: that against the enimie, a turning about toward the front. *Ælian* would haue the first to containe two turnings toward the right hand, the second two turnings toward the left. I for my part, dissent rather to *Ælian*. For touching the turnings of *Suidas*, I cannot yet understand, why turning toward the reare should be a turning from the enimie; or toward the front a turning to the enimie: Considering that whether

* Polyen. lib. 4.
in Alexand.
§ 17.

* Polyb. lib. 11.
§ 34.

* Polyen. lib. 11.
Agellus.

* Xenoph. Cy.
ro. lib. 7. 189.

* Plut. in Pyrrh.

whether sooner you turne faces, the enimie is imagined to be there: faces and weapons being to bee opposed alwaies against the enimie, which is the onely end of turning. Alians opinion seemeth to haue more probability in it, at least if I conceiue the right reason. For I take it thus: That seeing the Græcians (as the Romans likewise) were Targetiers, and caried their targets on their left side, and in fight advanced that side alwaies neereſt the enimie, which they fought to couer with their targets, that therefore the turning about to the enemy, was called turning to the Target; as contrariwise turning to the right side, on which side the Pike was caried, and which being naked of such defensive armes was called the open side, and therefore further remoued from the enemy, might for the same cause be termed turning from the enemy. So that I take turning about to the enemy, and turning about to the target to be all one, as also turning about from the enemy, and turning about to the Pike, howſoeuer the name differ. This is my coniecture, which I shall imagine to be true, till I finde some man, that will be pleased to giue me a more probable reason: I only adde now the words of command in this motion.

Faces to the right hand.
Faces to the left hand.
Faces about, to the right or left hand.
The figure sheweth the manner.

} As you were.

Of wheeling, double, and treble wheeling of the battaile, and returning to the first posture.

CHAP. XXVI.

Epistrophe (or wheeling) is when the battaile being so closed, that no man can turne, or twice turne his face by reason of the neerenesse of man to man, it wholly, and jointly wheeleth (as a ship, or some other body caried about) the order thereof remaining vndissolued. When the wheeling is to the Pike, we warne the right-corner-file-leader to stand still (as it were the hooke of a doore hinge) and the rest of the battaile proceeding forward to turne about the same file-leader like the doore. In the same manner is wheeling to the Target; it may be thus defined: Epistrophe is, when shutting the battaile by gathering close the Followers, and Side-men, we turne it wholly (as the body of a man) toward the Pike, or Target, it being caried about the corner-file-leader, as about a Center, and, changing the place of the front, transſerre the countenance of the souldier to the right, or left hand; the followers and sidemen euery one remaying in file and ranks before. How it is to be done I will shew hereafter.

Anastrophe, or returning to the first posture, is the restoring of the wheele to the place, where the battaile first stood close, before it beganne to wheele. Perispalmos, or wheeling about, is the motion of the battaile in two wheelings, so that thereby the front commeth to the place of the reare. 2 Eperspalmos, or treble wheeling, is the motion of the battaile in three wheelings, so as, when it turneth to the Pike, the front commeth about to the left flanke; when to the Target, it commeth about to the right flanke.

Notes.

Notes.

This Chapter hath a diuers kinde of turning from the other mentioned in the last Chapter, which for distinction sake, is called Epistrophe, or wheeling. The other turned no more, then the souldiers faces; euery man yet keeping the same ground, he had before. This wheeles the whole body, and changeth the place of the Phalange either to the right, or left hand, or to the reare. And as there was in the turning of iuaes a particular motion of euery particular souldier to the right, or left hand, called Clisis, and an other turning about called Metabole: so is there in this a general wheeling of the whole body to the right, or left hand, called Epistrophe, and an other wheeling about to the reare called Perispalmos. But let vs heare the description.

1 Epistrophe (or wheeling) is, when the Battaille] Shortly Epistrophe is no more, then the first turning of the battaile to the right or left hand. In doing whereof first the files must be closed to the hand, you meane to wheele, then the ranks. Then the corner file-leader on the same hand is to stand still, shew all the rest keeping their files, and ranks closed, to turne to the same hand jointly about the Corner-file-leader circle wise, who is to move by little, and little, till he haue turned his face to that side, which was intended. And when the first ranke is euen with him, and the rest wheeled enough to the same hand, they are to stand still: The words of the definition of Epistrophe (or wheeling) are plaine enough in Alian; I neede use no exposition. Now because in exercise we relie not upon one forme of motion alone, but acquaint our souldiers with all the kindes; it is necessarie to bring the body againe to the first place, to the end we may proceede in the rest. This reducing to the first Posture is called Anastrophe, by which the Battaille returneth, but by a contrary hand, so that, to which the Epistrophe was made. And also for changing the hand the wheeling backe againe is all one with the wheeling forward. We shall see hereafter how it is done. To bring the battaile to haue the front, where the reare was, you must use a double wheeling. And that is called Perispalmos. Which commeth of two Epistrophes, and is made either to the right, or left hand. Onely it must be obserued, that if the Perispalmos (or wheeling about) be to the right hand, the Anastrophe (or reducing to the first posture) must be to the left. Contrarie it is if the Perispalmos were to the right hand.

2 Eperspalmos] I could neuer hitherto conceiue any use of a treble wheeling (for so Alian takes the word) vnlesse a Perispalmos were first made, and the battaile had the front already brought to the reare, and so an Epistrophe added from the reare to the same hand. Otherwise seeing that one wheeling is sooner made, then two, and therefore sooner then three, I see no neede of three wheelings, especially seeing we may doe that, we desire with one. For example, let vs wheele our battaile thrice to the right hand, the front will come to be in the place of the left flanke. The same will be performed as well with one wheeleing to the left hand. Et frustra super plura, quod potest fieri per pauciora, especially in matter of warre, where the least moment of time often carrieth the whole business. The like may be said of Eperspalmos to the left hand.

The use of the motions of wheeling, and double wheeling, is, when the battaile being closed, and the enemy coming to assault you in any other one place, then the front, you seek to bring the best men to fight. For if you be to be charged in two places at once, or more, wheeling helps little except it be to turne the front to one enemy, and in that case your onely shift is, to turne faces against them, that come to charge, on what side sooner they come. Examples of these two motions, I meane Epistrophe, and Perispalmos meete vs almost in euery Greeke Historie. Of which I will represent one, or two, especially of the latter;

whether sooner you turne faces, the enimie is imagined to be there: faces and weapons being to be opposed alwaies against the enimie, which is the onely end of turning. Elians opinion seemeth to haue more probability in it, at least if I conceiue the right reason. For I take it thus: That seeing the Græcians (as the Romans likewise) were Targetters, and caried their targets on their left side, and in fight advanced that side alwaies neereſt the enimie, which they ought to cover with their targets, that therefore the turning about to the enemy, was called turning to the Target; as contrariely turning to the right side, on which side the Pike was caried, and which being naked of such defensive armes was called the open side, and therefore further removed from the enemy, might for the same cause be termed turning from the enemy. So that I take turning about to the enemy, and turning about to the target to be all one, as also turning about from the enemy, and turning about to the Pike, howsoever the name differ. This is my coniecture, which I shall imagine to be true, till I finde some man, that will be pleased to giue me a more probable reason: I only adde now the words of command in this motion.

Faces to the right hand.
Faces to the left hand. } As you were.
Faces about, to the right or left hand.
The figure sheweth the manner.

Of wheeling, double, and treble wheeling of the battaile,
and returning to the first posture.

CHAP. XXVI.

Epistrophe (or wheeling) is when the battaile being so closed, that no man can turne, or twice turne his face by reason of the neerenesse of man to man, it wholly, and jointly wheeleth (as a ship, or some other body caried about) the order thereof remaining vndisturbed. When the wheeling is to the Pike, we warne the right-corner-file-leader to stand still (as it were the hooke of a doore hinge) and the rest of the battaile proceeding forward to turne about the same file-leader like the doore. In the same manner is wheeling to the Target; it may be thus defined: *Epistrophe* is, when shutting the battaile by gathering close the Followers, and Side-men, we turne it wholly (as the body of a man) toward the Pike, or Target, it being caried about the corner-file-leader, as about a Center, and, changing the place of the front, transferre the countenance of the soldier to the right, or left hand; the followers and sidemen euery one remaying in file and ranke as before. How it is to be done I will shew hereafter.

Anastrophe, or returning to the first posture, is the restoring of the wheeling to the place, where the battaile first stood close, before it beganne to wheele. *Perispalmos*, or wheeling about, is the motion of the battaile in two wheelings, so that thereby the front commeth to the place of the reare. *2* *Eperispalmos*, or treble wheeling, is the motion of the battaile in three wheelings, so as, when it turneth to the Pike, the front commeth about to the left flanke; when to the Target, it commeth about to the right flanke.

Notes.

Notes.

This Chapter hath a diuers kinde of turning from the other mentioned in the last Chapter, which for distinction sake, is called *Epistrophe*, or wheeling. The other turned no more, then the soldiers faces; euery man yet keeping the same ground, he had before. This wheeles the whole body, and changeth the place of the Phalange either to the right, or left hand, or to the reare. And as there was in the turning of issues a particular motion of euery particular soldier to the right, or left hand, called *Clutis*, and an other turning about called *Metabole*: so is there in this a general wheeling of the whole body to the right, or left hand, called *Epistrophe*, and an other wheeling about to the reare called *Perispalmos*. But let vs heare the description.

Epistrophe (or wheeling) is, when the Battaille] Shortly *Epistrophe* is no more, then the first turning of the battaile to the right or left hand. In doing whereof first the files must be closed to the hind, you meane to wheele, then the ranks. Then the corner file-leader on the same hand is to stand still, then all the rest keeping their files, and ranks closed, to turne to the same hand jointly about the corner file-leader circle wise, who is to moue by little, and little, till he haue turned his face to that side, which was intended. And when the first ranke is euen with him, and the rest wheeled enough to the same hand, they are to stand still: The words of the definition of *Epistrophe* (or wheeling) are plaine enough in Elian; I neede use no exposition. Now because in exercise we relie not upon one forme of motion alone, but acquaint our soldiers with all the kindes; it is necessary to bring the body againe to the first place, to the end we may proceede in the rest. This reducing to the first Posture is called *Anastrophe*, by which the battaile returneth, but by a contrary hand, to that, to which the *Epistrophe* was made. And for changing the hand the wheeling backe againe is all one with the wheeling forward. We shall see hereafter how it is done. To bring the battaile to haue the front, where the reare was, you must use a double wheeling. And that is called *Perispalmos*. Which commeth of two *Epistrophes*, and is made either to the right, or left hand. Onely it must be observed, that if the *Perispalmos* (or wheeling about) be to the right hand, the *Anastrophe* (or reducing to the first posture) must be to the left. Contrarie it is if the *Perispalmos* were to the right hand.

2 *Eperispalmos*] I could neuer hither to conceiue any use of a treble wheeling (for so Elian takes the word) vnlesse a *Perispalmos* were first made, and the battaile had the front already brought to the reare, and so an *Epistrophe* added from the reare to the same hand. Otherwise seeing that one wheeling is sooner made, then two, and therefore faster than three, I see no neede of three wheelings, especially seeing we may doe that, we desire with one. For example, let vs wheele our battaile thrice to the right hand, the front will come to be in the place of the left flanke. The same will be performed as well with one whirling to the left hand. Et frustra sit per plura, quod potest fieri per pauciora, especially in matter of warre, where the least moment of time often carrieth the whole business. The like may be said of *2* *perispalmos* to the left hand.

The use of the motions of wheeling, and double wheeling, is, when the battaile being closed, and the enemy comming to assault you in any other one place, then the front, you seek to bring the best men to fight. For if you be to be charged in two places at once, or more, wheeling helpes little: except it be to turne the front to one enemy, and in that case your onely shift is, to turne faces against them, that come to charge, on what side sooner they come. Examples of these two motions, I meane *Epistrophe*, and *Perispalmos* meete vs almost in euery Greeke historie. Of which I will represent one, or two, especially, of the latter;

The Tactics

latter; she rather became practise giueth both light, and life to precepts. * Plutarch recounteth, that after King Pyrrhus, had in vaine assaulted Sparta, he was inuited by an Arginian named Arislaus to receiue Argos into his protection; and that hee marched thitherward with his armie. Arislaus the king of Lacedemonia laying ambushes for him, and taking the principall streights, by which he was to passe, charged his reare, wherein the Galatians and Molossians were. When Pyrrhus heard of the bruite and noise, he sent his sonne Ptolemy with the band of Companions to the aide, himselfe with all speede marching out of the streights, led on his armie. The medly being sharpe about Ptolemy, and the chosen Lacedemonians commanded by Eualcus standing close to their busines, Oroesus a Candiot of Aspera, valiant of his hands, and swift of foote, ruining crosse against the young Prince gaue him a deadly stroke and ouerthrew him. His fall made the rest to fle. And the Lacedemonians hauing the victorie, and following the chafe came into the Champian ground still killing but not remembering they were not followed with armed foot. Vpon whom Pyrrhus, hauing euen then heard of, and being much moued with the death of his sonne, wheeled about the Molossian horsemen. And himselfe first aduancing vpon the spurre imbrued himselfe with the slaughter of Lacedemonians. He alwaies seemed mighty, and terrible in armes; but then hee exceeded himselfe in daring and valor. For turning his Horse vpon Eualcus who shunning him, thrust aside, and with all strooke at his bridle hand as he passed by, and wanted but little of cutting it off. But missing the hand, he light vpon the raines, and carued them quite a sunder. Pyrrhus with all strooke him thorough the body with his Lance. Then leaping from his horse, and fighting a foote, hee cut in pieces the chosen Lacedemonians, that fought to recouer the body of Eualcus. This was the fight that Pyrrhus made by wheeling about his Horsemen against the Lacedemonians, that followed vpon his Reare. Another example of Wheeling about is reported by Polybius, and it is of Amilcar Annibals father, this is the history. The mercenary souldiers of the Carthaginians revolted from them, and ouerthrew some of their Generalls, and shur them vp within the Citie of Carthage, possessing both other streights, that led into the Countrey, and also a bridge laide ouer a riuer called Ataxar, which riuer was not passable, but by that Bridge. Besides, they built a Citie for defence of that Bridge. Amilcar seeking to dislodge the enemye from that Bridge, and hauing no way to come at them conueniently; obserued, that when certaine windes blew, the mouth of the riuer toward the sea was commonly filled vp with sand, and would giue passage sufficient for his armie. Finding then a fit time, hee put ouer his army in the night, and before day, or ere any man knew of it, made himselfe Master of the passage; and presently led against them, that held the bridge. Spendius (hee was one of the chiefe Rebels) hearing thereof, aduanced to meete Amilcar in the plaine, and both ten thousand from the Citie at the bridge foote, and fifteen thousand more from Nica, came out one to aide another, thinking to wrappe in the Carthaginians betweene them; who were not aboute ten thousand Souldiers of all forts, and 70 Elephants. Amilcar led on his armie. Before were the Elephants, the horse, and light armed followed next, the armed foote came last. And perceiuing the enemye, that followed his Reare, pressed hard vpon him, he commanded his whole armie to turne about. Those that were in the Vanguard of the march hee willed to returne to him with speede; the other that at first had the reare, hee wheeled about, and straight opposed against the enemy. The Libians and mercenaries imagining the Carthaginians fled for feare, fell vpon them disorderly, and boldly came

of Ælian.

to hands. But when they saw the Horsemen, being now turned about, and come vp neere to the foote, and already put in order, make a stand, they themselves, by reason they looked for nothing lesse, fell into a feare, turning their backs fled presently, as before they gaue on vnadvisedly, and tragically. And some of them falling vpon their owne people, that were coming on, wrought both theirs, and their owne destructions: other some were trampled vpon, and trode to death, by the horse, and Elephants, that followed the chafe. Thus saith Polybius. And thus saith of Wheelings. The figure, and words of command are referred for the 32 Chapter, where the manner of wheelings, and returning to the first posture is set downe.

Of sling, ranking, and restoring to the first posture.

CHAP. XXVII.

TO file is, when every particular man keeping equall distance from other standeth in his owne file lineally betwixt the file-Leader and bringer-vp. To rankes, to be in a right line euen with his sidemen in the length of the battle. To restore to the first posture is, to bring the sight of the Souldier to the same aspect, he had before the first turning. As if his face were at first towards the enemy, being commanded to turne towards the Pike, and thence to returne to his first posture, hee is againe to returne his face toward the enemy.

Notes.

OF filing, and ranking enough is spoken before.
 1 To restore to the first posture.] This motion differeth from Anastrophie before specified. For Anastrophie bringeth backe againe the whole body to the first place after aduancing: This the Souldiers faces particularly to the first aspect. So that thou is used after the making of an Anastrophie. For alwaies in motions it is requisite, that the Souldiers faces moue forward. To moue backward hath many inconueniences of stumbling vpon vnauen ground, or stones, or pittes, or stubbes, or such like. Which is the cause that in Anastrophie after a Wheeling, Ælian willeth, that the Souldiers turne their faces the contrarie way first, then moue on, till they haue recouered their first ground, then open rankes, and files, and lastly to restore to the first aspect. And as it differeth from Anastrophie so differeth it likewise from Metabole. Metabole only turned faces about, this setteth the Souldier in his former posture, not onely for his face, but for his armes, also, which are ordered as at first. The wordes wherein this motion is expressed by Ælian are Eporthon apodounai, and Eis orthon apocastellai, which is interpreted by Gaza in arrectum reddere, to restore vp right, by Arcerius rectum reddere, to restore right, and so the words sound. Ælian interpreteth it to set againe the Souldiers (sight) in the same aspect in which it stood at first: as if being placed with his face against the enemy he be commanded to turne his face to the Pike, and then againe to restore his face to his first posture, he must returne, and set his face against the enemy. Ælian therefore referreth it to the sight, be first had, which if it bee the right meaning, how can it

a Pausan in
 Ateneis 43.
 b Pausan in
 Corinth 89.
 c Pausan in
 Corinth. 87.

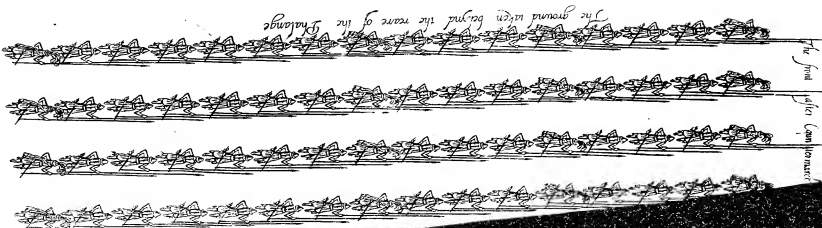
be upright, or right, more in that, then in any other posture. For the Souldier not onely in front, but in flanke, and in the rear carryeth himselfe upright, or right. I doubt not, but that it may be applyed to the upright standing of men, as appeareth by sundry places of Pausanias: Who reberseeth, that Mineruas image set ^a in the Temple Parthenion standeth upright, orthon eiti, and in another place, that in Corinth ^b in the Temple Pantheon, there were two Images of Mercurie standing upright, Ortha, ^c and that in the Temple of Fortune the image of Fortune was carued of Patian-stone, and stood upright, Orthon: and that in Neptunes Temple situate in the Corinthian Isthmus, the images of Amphitrite and Neptune stand in a Chariot, and the boy Palemon upright vpon a Dolphin, Orthos. In all which places Orthos designeth the site of men. But here, as I take, it cannot be so applied. Because in every motion, not onely in this, the men stand upright. How then can they be refered to their standing upright, when they doe it already. I take the originall of the appellation to come from another cause, and that is from the ordering of the Pike. For when the battaile is first set in the field, every Souldier standes with his Pike ordered, that is upright. For to order a pike is to set the butt end on the ground before the Souldier somewhat wide of his right foote, and to hold it upright with the right hand borne euen with the shoulder. But when you beginne, or continue any motion, the manner is to aduance, or to shoulder the Pike, and so to procede. But being commanded to returne to the first posture, it must be ordered againe. So that the first posture of an armed man is to stand with his pike upright. And after many motions and windings, he at last returneth to the same posture, which I take the command of Ep'orthon apodounai to signifie. Now that I may not seeme to relye vpon a probable coniecture alone, I will bring witness for the confirmation of my opinion. It is reported by ^d Diodorus Siculus, that Agelilaus the Lacedemonian King with an armie of eighteen thousand foote, and fifteen hundred horse, invaded Boeotia. The Athenians before hearing of Agelilaus comming had sent five thousand foote, and 200 horse to aide the Thebans, who gathering their armie together seized vpon a long narrow hill distant 20 furlongs from the City; And making the hard access to the place a kinde of fortification against the enemy, they there waited his comming, fearing to hazard vpon euen ground in regard of the renowne, and glory of Agelilaus. Agelilaus, hauing imbattailed his troups, led them against the Boeotians, and approching neere, sent his light armed to sound their disposition to fight, which being easily repulsed by the Thebans by the aduantage of the higher ground, hee aduanced the rest of his forces being imbattailed in such manner, as might giue greatest terror. Chabrias the Athenian willed his Souldiers to waite the enemy contemptuously both keeping their list array, and their Targets at their knees, and continuing their Pikes upright ordered; who when they jointly as vpon a word giuen, did as they were commanded, Agelilaus both wondering at the good order, and at the assured fashion of the enemy thought it not fit to strue with vnequall ground, and by forcing them to fight, to compell them to be valiant, whether they would, or no. Hitherto Diodorus Siculus of the Stratagem of Chabrias against Agelilaus, which consisted in the contempt of Agelilaus, and all his forces: First in not stirring one foote, to meete his enemy, then in keeping the array they held before, further in sticking their Targets to their knees; Lastly in continuing the former order of their Pikes, that is not making ready to charge, but remaining with their Pikes ordered, as they were at first. Agelilaus aduancing his armie thought to strike a feare into his enemies, Chabrias trusting to the strength of the place, scorned the Bruaide of Agelilaus, conceiuing he would not be so hardy to aduantage the fight vpon so great an inequality of ground, he therefore willed the

souldiers

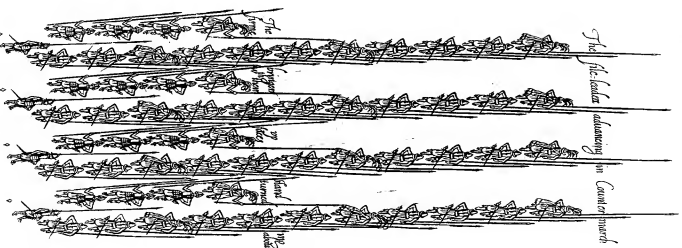
d Diod. Sicul.
 lib. 15. 473.

The Indian Army

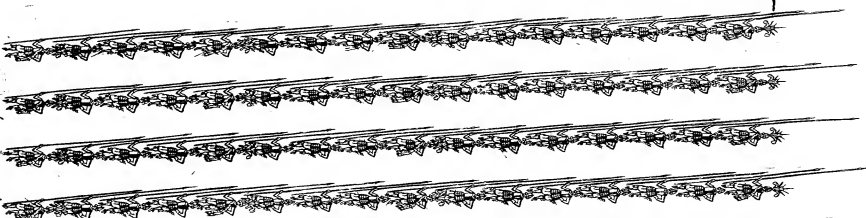
The Contingent in action



The ground taken beyond the range of the Shalange



The Indian Army



The Indian Army

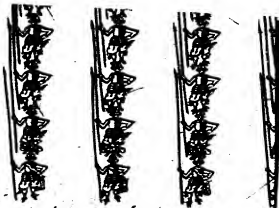
diers not to alter their posture, but to continue as they were. The words concerning the Pike are: En ortho to dorati mencein. That is to continue their pikes vpright (En ortho) Now whether the same be the posture, that the Tackicks describe, when they speake of restoring Ep' ortho, vpright, I referre to the iudgement of the Reader. ^a Polienus remembreth this Stratagem vseth somewhat different words, and yet consenteth in meaning. Chabrias saith he, commanded his Souldiers not to runne out against the enemy, but quietly to stand still holding their pikes before vpright, and their Targets before their knees which they were wont to doe, when they would a little ease themselves of the weight of their Targets. Where Diodore, hath en ortho to dorati mencein, to continue their Pikes vpright. Polienus hath protinomenous ta dorata ortha, holding before them their Pikes vpright. But both haue pikes vpright, and Diodorus his Continue hath relation to the Posture they were in, which Chabrias would not haue them to alter: Polienus his hold before is that they were commanded to doe. In ordering of Pikes at this day I haue shewed, that the Souldiers hold them vpright, the but end set on the ground before, and somewhat wide of their right foot. ^b Æmilius Probus reciteth this historie peruersteth the Stratagem: He saith that Chabrias forbad the Phalange to giue backe, and taught his Souldiers to receiue the enemies charge kneeling with one knee, the other set against the Target, and with the Pike abased. Wherein hee quite dissenteth from Diodore, and Polien. Diodore saith, the command was to keepe their array; Polienus not to runne forward, but quietly to stand still; Probus not to giue backe. Probus saith, they should kneele with one knee, and rest against the Target with the other; Diodore that they should hold their Targets sunke to their knees; Polienus that they should carry their Targets before at their knees. Probus that they should abase, and charge their Pikes; Diodore that they should continue, and order them vpright; Polien that they should hold their Pikes vpright. So that Diodore and Polien agree, and expound one another: Æmilius Probus bringing in a new historie dissenteth, as I said, from the other two; especially in making that to be a forme of fight prescribed by Chabrias (a forme forme to receiue the charge upon their knees) which was a contempt, to shew how little, especially in that strength of ground, he regarded Agelilaus; which contempt also made Agelilaus retire, not doubting but it proceeded from a great assurance of the enemy. Therefore as I said I take these words ep' orthon apodounai, not only to appertaine to the aspect of the Souldier, but also (and that much rather) to the erection, and ordering of Pikes.

^b Æmil. Prob.
in Chabrias.
107.

Of Countermarches, and the diuers kindes thereof, with the manner how they are to be made.

CHAP. XXVIII.

There are two sorts of Countermarches, one by file, the other by ranke; each of these againe is diuided into three kindes. The first called the Macedonian: The second the Lacedæmonian: The third the Choraan, which is also the Persian, and the Cretan. The Macedonian is that, which leauing the ground, it first had, taketh in liew thereof the ground, which was before the front of the Phalange, and turneth the aspect of the Souldier backward [where before it was forward.]



The Front before Countermarch

2 The *Lacedemonian* is that, which leaving likewise the ground it first had, taketh in steed thereof, the ground which was behinde the Reare of the *Phalange*, and turneth also the face of the Souldier the contrary way.

3 The *Persian* is the *Cretan*, and *Chorasan*: This keepeth the same ground of the *Phalange*, every souldier taking another place for that, he had, the file-Leader the place of Bringer-up, and to the rest in order; and turneth also the face of the Souldier the contrary way.

4 Counter-marches by ranke are made, when a man would transferre the winges into the place of the Sections; and the Sections into the place of the wings, to the end to strengthen the middelt of the battaile. Likewise the right hand parts into the left hand parts, and the left hand parts into the right hand parts. They that feare to counter-march the *Phalange* in grosse the enemy being at hand, doe it by *Synagmæ*.

I will now set downe, in what manner counter-marches ought to be made.

The *Macedonian* counter-march by file is said to be, when the file-leader turneth about his face, and all the rest with the Bringer-up go against him on the right, or left hand, and passing on to the ground before the front of the *Phalange* place themselves in order one after another, according as the file-Leader himselfe hath turned his face. Therefore it maketh shew to the enemy appearing in the Reare, of running away: Or it is when the file-Leader turneth about his face, and the rest passing by him on the right or left hand place themselves orderly one behinde another.

But the *Lacedemonian* is, when the Bringer-up turneth his face about, and all the rest turning also their faces, and proceeding forward together with their file-Leader order themselves proportionably in the ground, which was behinde the Reare of the *Phalange*. Wherefore to the enemy appearing behinde, it makes a semblance of falling on. Againe the *Lacedemonian* is, when the file-Leader turning his face about to the Pike, or Target transferreth the whole file to another place equall to the first; and the rest following stand, as before, behinde him. Or else, when the Bringer-up turneth his face about, and hee, that stood next before him, passing by on the right or left hand, is placed againe next before him, and the rest following are placed one before another in their former order till the file-Leader be the first.

The *Chorasan* is, when the file-Leader turning about toward the Pike, or Target, precedeth the file, and the rest follow, till the file-Leader have the place of the Bringer-up, and the Bringer-up the place of the file-Leader. And these are the Counter-marches by file.

In the same manner are Counter-marches made by ranke in case a man would counter-march by ranke. For every ranke Counter-marching either keepeth the same ground, or changeth the right hand place, or else the left hand place, of the battaile, one of which muſt needs fall out, and neuer faileth.

Notes.

THe two former motions are performed, one in close Order, the other in all Orders; Epitrophe when the battaile is (but so close, that (as *Ælian* saith) a man can turne his face neither the one way, nor the other. Clivis in open Order, Order, and close Order. See Leo cap. 7. The two following motions, Counter-march, and Doubling, one is done in open Order, the other for the most part in open order too; and yet sometimes in Order, and close

close order; as we shall see in due place. This Chapter handleth Counter-marches, the next Doublings. Counter-march is a motion, whereby every souldier marching after other, changeth his front for the reare, or one flank for the other. For there are two kinds of Counter-marches, one by file, and the other by ranke. And each of these is againe divided into three; the first is called the *Macedonian*; the second, the *Lacedemonian*; the third the *Chorasan*, or *Cretan*. A Counter-march by file is, when every souldier followeth his Leader of the same file; By ranke, when every souldier followeth his sideman of the same ranke in the Counter-march.

1 The *Macedonian* Counter-march [in this Counter-march, the purpose of the Commander is to turne the front of his battaile against the enemy that sheweth himselfe in the Reare; and withall to take the ground that lyeth before the front of the *Phalange*. It is called the *Macedonian* Counter-march (saith *Ælian*) because the *Macedonians* were the inventors of it. Which of the Macedonians he telleth not, but includeth Philip, and Alexander, who both used the *Lacedemonian* Counter-march. And before their times I have not read of any warlike Kings of Macedonia. The manner of it is this: First all the File-leaders turne their faces about either to the right or left hand; then the next ranke passeth thorough by them on the same hand; and being come to their distances, place themselves directly behind their File-leaders, and then turne about their faces the same way. And so the third ranke after them, and the fourth, and all the rest, till the Bringers-up be last, and have taken the reare of the battaile againe, and turned about their faces. The figure expresseth not well the action. For in it the Bringers-up begin first to counter-march, which according to *Ælian* should move last. Yet may this Counter-march be done, as the figure is. But I take *Ælian*'s way to be easier, and readier. And it may be also, that the Counter-march expressed in the figure is left in the text. For one of the *Lacedemonian* Counter-marches, which precedeth the contrary way, beginneth the motion with the File-leaders, as this doeth with the Bringers-up, as we shall straight see.

2 The *Lacedemonian* counter-march [in this Counter-march the proceeding is contrary to that of the former; that took the ground before the *Phalange*, this takes the ground after. In that the moving was from the Reare to the front, in this from the front to the reare. This is the invention of the *Lacedemonians*. *Ælian* describeth it to be done in two manners: One, when the Bringers-up first turne about their faces, and the next ranke likewise turning faces beginneth the Counter-march, and every man thereof placeth himselfe directly before his Bringer-up, and the third doe the like; and so the rest, till the ranke of the File-leaders come to be first: The other, when the File-leaders begin the Counter-march, and every one in their files follow them orderly. The figure expresseth this last. *Ælian* preferreth the *Lacedemonian* Counter-march before the *Macedonian*: because in it the souldiers seeme to fall on, and go to the charge, where in the *Macedonian* they seeme to flee. There are notwithstanding times, when it is better to use the *Macedonian*. As in case you meane to march on, and not to fight with the enemy, except you be compelled: Or else you seeke to gaine some ground of advantage. For the *Macedonian* continueth still the march, and stayeth not; the *Lacedemonian* returneth upon the enemy, and so loseth ground in marching. *Agésilas* after victorie gotten against the Argives, when he stood in the right winge, hearing that the Thebans had beaten the Orchomenians in the left winge, used the *Lacedemonian* Counter-march against them. The words of * Xenophon sound thus: Here the strangers were about to crowne the Thebans, after they had broken the Orchomenians, had forced a passage as farre as the baggage. Then *Agésilas*, counter-marching his *Phalange*, led against them.

The

These newes were caried to *Mardonius* the Generall of the Persians; who whether fearing the Athenians, or desirous to fight with the Lacedemonians, changed his place from the left into his right wing, to the intent to oppole against them; which when *Pausanias* saw, he returned to his right wing, and *Mardonius* to his left, the place, which he had at the beginning. *Here are changing wings on both parts; The one counting to fight in the left wing, the other desirous to fight in the right. The Countermarch by ranke from the right wing would have suited Pausanias: as the contrary Countermarch would have suited Mardonius. Yet am I led to thinke that Pausanias used a wheeling of his battaile, and so conveyed it from one wing to another behind the battaile of the other Grecians, to the end, that being shadowed by them, hee might the better hide his purpose from Mardonius. Another example I finde in Livy and Polybius both. It is this: Pub. Scipio, who was afterward called Africanus, and Asdruball the sonne of Gisgo, being incamped neare together in Spaine brought daily out of their Campes their Armies one against another. And after they had long stood waiting, who should begin the fight, which was done at neither hand, they conveyed them backe againe. The manner of their imbatailing was this. The Romans, and likewise the Carthagineans mingled with the Africans, had the middle, their Confederates the wings. The opinion was they should fight in that order. Scipio when he perceived this to be firmly beleewed, the day before he ment to fight, made an alteration of all. When night came, he gave the word thorough the whole Campe, that horse and men should dine, before it was light day, and that the horsemen in Armes should keepe their horses bridled, and fadled. The day was scarce sprunge, when he sent his horse, and light-armed to beat in the Carthaginean Gardes, himselfe streight followed with the armed Legions; disposing the Romans (contrary to the settled opinion of his owne people, and of the enemy) in the wings, and receiving the Allies into the midst. Asdrubal raised out of his bed with the cry of his horsemen, had no sooner leaped out of his Tent, and seeing the tumult before the trench of his Campe, and the amazement of his people, and the Ensignes of the Legions shining a farre off, and the field full of enemies, presently sent out his whole power of horse to undertake the Roman horse. Himselfe issued out of the Campe with his foote, not changing any thing of his wonted manner of imbatailing. The fight of the horsemen had now a long time bene doubtfull, and could not be tried, because still, as they were beaten (which hapned a like to both) they found a safe retreat within the battailes of foote. But when the Armies were come within 500 paces one of another, Scipio giving a signall of Retreat, and opening his battaile, received all the horse, and light-armed into the midst, and dividing them into two parts, placed them as seconds, behind the wings. Now when time was come to begin the fight, he commanded the Spaniards, who had the middle ward, to march on leasutely, and sent a messenger from the right wing (for hee commanded there) to *Syllanus* and *Martius*, willing them to stretch out the left wing, as they saw him stretch out the right; and to charge the enemy with the light-armed, and horse, before the middle wards might be able to come vp, and ioine. The wings being thus stretched out, they led with all possible speed three *Cohorts* of foote, and three troupes of horse a peece, against the enemy, besides the light-armed, and those that were received into the Reare, who followed a thwart. There was a great empty space in the midst, because the Ensignes of the Spaniards came slowly on. And now the wings were in fight, when the old souldiers Carthaginians and Africans, the strength of the Armie, were*

k Liv. deas. 3.
lib. 8. 202. B.
Polyb. lib. 11.
246. B.

not yet come to use their darts, neither durst they runne into the wings to helpe them, that fought for feare of opening the midst of the battaile to the enemy, who was comming on against them. The wings were pressed with a double mulley. The Horse, light-armed, & Velites, wheeling about their Troupes, charge their flanks. The *Cohorts* pushed on in front, to the end, to breake of the wings from the body of the battaile. And the conflict was unequal both in all other respects, and especially because a rable, as it were of drudges, and vntrained Spaniards, were opposed against the Roman and Latin souldiers. The day being now farre spent, the Armie of Asdruball oppressed with the mornings tumult, and compelled to take the field, before they had strengthened their bodies with meat, began to faint, and faile in strength; which was the reason that Scipio lingered out the day, & made the fight somewhat late. For it was past the seuenth houre, before the wings of foote attacked one another: and yet the fight came later to the middle wards. So that the scorching heat of the *South-sunne*, and the labour of standing armed, and hunger, and thirst, first afflicted their bodies, before they came to hands with the enemy. Therefore they stood leaning vpon their Targets, and being weary both in body, and minde, they gaue backe at last, keeping notwithstanding their array no otherwise, than as if the battaile being yet entire, had retreated at the commandement of the Generall. But when the victors, perceiving them to shrink, so much the more eagerly pressed on, the brunt could hardly be indured any longer. And although Asdrubal restrained, and stopped them, that gaue ground, crying that hill, and a safe place of retreat was at their backs, if they could be but intreated, to retire easily; yet feare overcoming thine, and the enemy killing them that were next to hand, they forthwith turned their backs, and vniuersally powred out themselves into flight. This stratagem of Scipio resteth principally in shifting his beitt men (the Romans) into the wings; the Spaniards his worst into the midst, and in keeping the Spaniards aloofe from ioyning; and in hastening to try the day with the Romans against the weakest of the enemy. Asdrubals way to meete with this stratagem had bene to counter-march by ranke halfe his Carthaginians, and Africans into one wing, and halfe into the other. And by that meanes his Spaniards should haue had the midst against the Roman Spaniards, and his old souldiers Carthaginians and Africans bene opposed in the wings against the Romans, and Latins, and the advantage eluded, that Scipio sought.

As the Countermarches by file were of three kinde, so are the Countermarches by ranks; namely the Macedonian, the Lacedemonian, and the Chorean. The Macedonian beginneth to moue at the corner of the wing, which is nearest to the enemy, the enemy appearing to either flanks. And therefore incurreth the same imputation, that was laid vpon the Macedonian countermarch by file; as seeming to runne away, because it diuermeth from the enemy. Yet is there use of it, as well as of that by file. For by this countermarch you may set the strongest part of your Armie against the enemy, and apply the weakest to some River, Lake, hill, or such like, so that the enemy can not come to encompass it. It taketh the ground that lieth on the side of the contrary wing. The Lacedemonian raketh the ground that lieth on the side of that wing, which is toward the enemy, and bringeth the best men to be foremost against the enemy: And therefore beginneth the moving on the contrary side. The use of it is, when your forces are such as are able to encounter the enemy, and you desire to bring your best men to fight. The Chorean keepeth the same ground, the battaile had at first, & bringeth one wing to possess the place of the other; Or else the Sections to possess the place of the wings, or might bene

The Tactics

beene done in the last example cited concerning Scipio and Asdrubal. The manner of countermarch by ranke is contrary to the countermarch by file. In countermarch by file the motion was in the depth of the battaile, and either the front removed toward the reare, or the reare toward the front, and tooke one another's place. In this the motion is in length of the battaile flanke-wise, the wing either marching into the midst, or else in cleane shorow to the other wing. In doing it the souldiers, that stand uttermost in the flanke of the wing, must moue first to the contrary wing, and the rest of euery ranke successively follow them in order. The figure will shew the manner of the motion. Patritius utterly mistaketh the countermarch by ranke, and groundeth himselfe upon a wrong principle, namely that in all Countermarches the File-leaders must march toward the reare, and the Bringers-up towards the front. And therefore in changing the winges into Sections, he makes the winges to fall of behind in the reare (the File-leaders wheeling about) and there to ioyne themselves as neare, as the middle Section will giue leaue, and the Sections falling backe likewise, to ioyne themselves to the flanks of them, that were the winges. Whereas the nature of this Enolution is clearely to leaue the File-leaders in front, and Bringers-up in reare, as they were at first. And albeit the File-leaders then change their places, yet change they their place with none, but with File leaders, and the change is, but a change of hands, the right hand for the left, or the left hand for the right. For whereas the File-leaders of the right wing had before the right hand, now in countermarch by ranke, being transposed to the left wing, they haue the left hand of all the rest of the File-leaders, as likewise the Bringers-up of the other Bringers-up.

The words of Command may be these,

For the Macedonian Countermarch by file.

*File-leaders turne your faces about (to the right or left hand).
The rest of euery File passe shorow in order one after another, and place your selues at your
distances after your Leaders, turning your faces about, and so stand.*

For the Lacedemonian Countermarch by file.

The first manner.

*Bringers-up, turne your faces about (to the right or left hand.)
The rest turne your faces about and beginning at them, that are next to the Bringers-up,
countermarch and place your selues in your distances before the Bringers-up, and
one before an other till the File-leaders be first.*

The second manner.

*File-leaders, countermarch to the right, or left hand, and let euery mans file follow him,
and keepe true distance.*

For the Chorgan countermarch by file.

*File-leaders, countermarch to the place of the Bringers-up, and stand, and let your files
follow you keeping their distance.*

For the Macedonian countermarch by ranke.

*The right or left hand corner file, turne your faces to the right, or left hand.
The rest of each ranke, passe thorough to the right, or left hand, and place your selues or-
derly behind your side-men keeping your distance.*

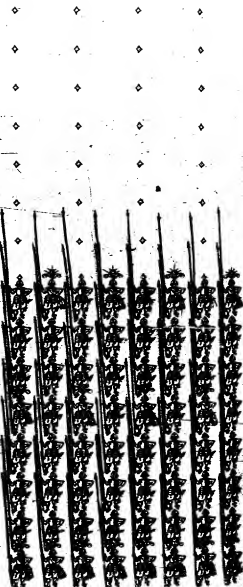
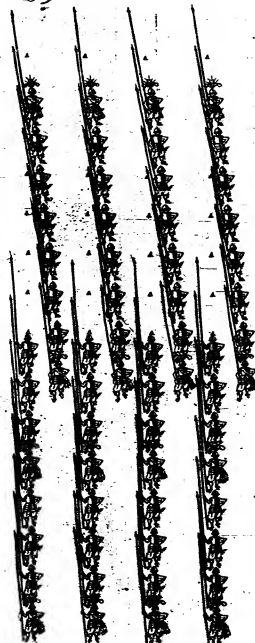
For

Cap 29
Dressing of Ranks

Dressing of ranks in action



The front before Dressing of ranks



The front after Dressing of Ranks

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Notes

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and place your foot before them

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and within the ranks, place every

The Chorus

The strong arm, where the enemy
lies or right wings, and place
within the ranks, place every

of the Chorus

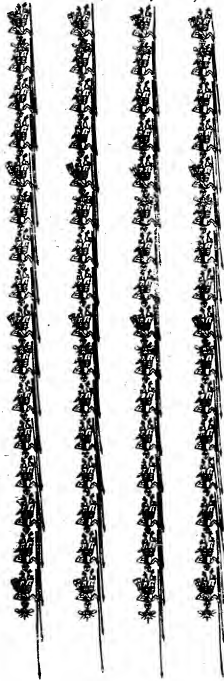
C

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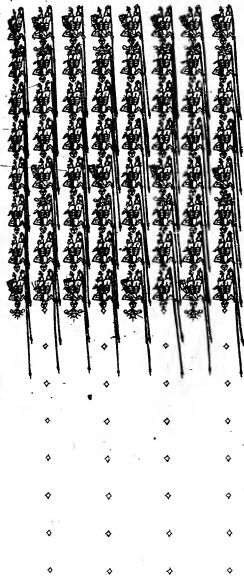


Dobling of ranks in action

Dobbing of Panter

Case 29

The front after Dolling of Rankes



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The front after Doubling of Ranks

For the Lacedemonian countermarch by ranke.

The first manner.

The corner file, where the enemy appeareth, turne your faces to the right or left hand; The rest of ech ranks turne your faces, and passe thorough, (to the right or left hand) and place your selves before your side-men orderly keeping your distances.

The second manner.

The right or left wing, where the enemy appeareth not, countermarch to the contrary wing, and all in the Ranks follow every man his side man; keeping your distance.

For the Choraean countermarch by ranke.

The uttermost corner file of the right, or left wing, countermarch into the place of the left or right wings, and stand. And the rest follow ranke-wise keeping their distance.

Of doubling, and the kindes thereof.

CHAP. XXIX.

¹ There are two kinds of doubling, one of *Ranks*, the other of *Depth*, or *files*; and ² either of these double the number, or the place. ³ The length is doubled in number when of a front of 124 files we make a front (keeping the same ground) of 248 files, by inserting in the spaces betwixt file and file, some of the followers, that stood in the depth. This is done to the end to thicken the length of the battaile. If we list to recall them to their first *posture*, we are to command those, that were inserted, to *countermarch* to the place, they had before.

⁴ There are, that mislike these *doubling*s, especially the enemy being at hand; and would have a shew of doubling made, without indeed doubling the *Phalange* already ordered, by stretching out the *light-armed*, and the *Horse*, on both sides of the *wings* of the *Battaile*. ⁵ The use of doubling the length is, when either we would *over-wing* the enemy, or else our selves feare to be *over-winged*.

The *Depth* is doubled ⁶ by inserting the second file into the first; so that the *Leader* of the second file be placed next behind the *Leader* of the first file, and the second man of the second file be the fourth man of the first file, and the third man of the second file be the sixth in the first file, and so forth the rest, till the whole second file be ingrossed into the first; and likewise the fourth file into the third, and all the even files into the odde.

Doubling of the *Depth* by *Countermarch* is made, either when the next *side files* in severall [as in the former example the second, and the fourth, and the rest of the even files] *countermarch* to the *Rear*, and place themselves behind the *Bringers-up* of the *odde files*; or else the files remainyng in their first place, and number, halfe of them, diuiding themselves from the other halfe, *countermarch* likewise to the *Rear*, and conveying themselves behind the other, there order themselves, and so double the depth of the *Phalange*.

If we would returne them to the first *posture*, we must recall those, that were conveyed to stand behind, to the place they had before the *Countermarch*.

M

Notes

THE former three Motions alter not the forme of the Phalange. For whether you turned faces, wheeled, or counter-marched the Phalange, the depth and length remained one. The motion to be expressed in this Chapter induceth an other shape to the Phalange, and maketh it seeme a different body from that it was before, being by Doubling extended either in length or in depth. For Doubling the number of men, or the place of the Phalange in front, maketh the length twice as much, and doubling the same in flanke maketh the depth double to that it was before. For Doubling is nothing else, than making a military body twice as long, or twice as deepe, as it was before.

1 There are two kindes of doubling] The Doublings are either of length or depth; Or (which is all one as Suidas saith) of ranks or files. For ranks stretch out in length, files in depth. And these againe are divided into two other kindes, the body being

2 Doubled in number or place] That which is here called number, is called otherwise persons; or (by Suidas) men. It is called persons in the Infection which is made to Alian, I know not by whom, in the precedent Chapter of Countermarches. Which because it lay thrust in betwixt the description of Countermarches, and nothing pertained to that argument, I neuer made doubt, was crept into the text. And I am rather confirmed in my opinion, because I saw it noted with an Asteriske in that Alian (being of Robortellus Edition) which the learned Isaac Casaubon had quoted, and purposed to set forth, if untimely death had not prevented him. I will here set downe the words, because they differ not much from Alian, and may giue some light to the manner of Doubling. It is to be vnderstood (so are the words) that a Phalange is doubled in persons, or place, when we therefore take halfe the souldiers from the Depth, and making files of them, place them euen with the rest in length of the front, so that of 124 files we make 248, this is Doubling of persons. In like sort we double the place with 124 files (not increasing the number) but onely commanding some to turne to the Pike, some to the Target, till the Phalange be stretched out to a convenient length, as from 5 furlongs to 10. In the same manner is the depth doubled. For either one file is inferred into an other, man for man, so that the second File-leader becomes the follower of the first, and the second man in the second file, the follower of the second in the first file, and so the rest: Or else 16 men are so extended, that they hold as much ground in length, as 32 usually doe. So farre the infection. It followeth in Alian.

3 The length is doubled in number] When the front hath twice as many files, as it had before, this is Doubling in number, or in men, or in persons. For the persons, or men, make the number in the files. And the files carrying an euen depth of men, and being doubled, double the number of the front, or length. Alian speaketh but of one kind of doubling, namely of number, and that must be done in open order, as I said before. For the files of 16 standing in open order if you command the Middlemen (as we terme them at this day, they were called in the Macedonian files the third Enomotarchs) to double their ranks: These middl. men with the hinder halfe file march vp to the front, & so doubling the front in number leaue yet the same measure of length. The figure sheweth how it is done. Yet are there two other waies, when the Phalange standeth in close order, both which double the number and place. One is when the Middlemen diuide themselves, and one halfe with their followers turning their faces march out of the right flanke: The other of the left flanke of the Phalange. And then turning their faces againe,

fluece

fluece vp and ioynne themselves in an euen line with the File-leaders in front; The other when all the Middle turne their faces one way and march out with the r. followers beyond one flanke right or left, and turning faces againe fluece vp to the front, and stand euen with the File-leaders. One of these is done, when we desire to enlarge both the wings of the Phalange; the other, when but one wing. Of these two last waies, I haue set downe no figure, because I finde them not expressed in Alian. Cleandridas the Lacedemonian, used yet an other kind not spoken of by Alian. Polienus telleth the story thus: n Polienus lib. 2. in Cleandridas. 8. 4. Cleandridas making warre vpon the Thuriars, hauing halfe as many men againe, as they, conceiuing if they had intelligence hereof, they would hardly bee brought to fight, imbatailing his Phalange, stretched it out in depth. The Lucians therefore, contemning the small number, drew out their forces in length, with intent to ouer-front the enemy; which Cleandridas perceiving, commanded the followers to march vp and ranke with their Leaders; and by that meanes increased the length of his Phalange, and ouer-fronted the enemy, who being incompassed, and assailed with misliue weapons on all hands perished intirely, excepting a few, that saued themselves by shamefull flight. The words seeme obscure to a man not acquainted with the Tactics. There are two kind of soldiers saith Alian in a file, Leaders, and followers. All the Leaders are the odde of the file; as the 1, 3, 5, 7, and so forth: the followers are the euen, as the 2, 4, 6, 8. Those that are in the same ranke, are called side-men. Now, saith Polien, Cleandridas willed the followers to step forward, and to ranke, and become side-men with their Leaders: that is, he willed the euen files to double their ranks with the odde; and so extenuated the depth, but increased the length of his Phalange; by which art he ouer-fronted, & inclosed the enemy on all sides. This way then to double ranks, or the length of the battaile, is to inferre the euen ranks man by man into the odde. All the Doublings that haue beene rehearsed, were Doublings either in number alone, or else both in number, and place. For doubling of place alone nothing is said in Alian. The Infection I recited, supplyeth this defect: saying, the place is doubled with 124 files, onely by commanding halfe to turne to the Pike, halfe to the Target, till the Phalange be stretched to a convenient length; as from 5 furlongs to ten; which is as much to say in few words, as to open the Phalange; Or to bring it from order, to open order. For so the front possesseth double ground, so that it had before.

4 The vse of Doubling the length is] Two causes are assigned for the doubling of the length: 1. One to ouerwing the enemy, the other to auoide ouerwing our selves. Cleandridas in the example aboue, performed both: For he both disappointed the Lucians that sought to incompass him, and besides incompassed, and inclosed them. The narrower the front is, it is the more in danger of ouer-fronting; being p Xenoph Cy. drawne out in length it is freer from enclosing, because a greater compass must be fetched, before it can be inclosed. Yet are we to take heede, that in doubling of the front, we giue it not so much length that it faile in depth. The want of length, or depth is alike dangerous, and giueth aduantage to the enemy. I haue touched before, and quoted Leo gleaning onely at his words. Now I will set them downe as they lie: 4 When the thickness of the Phalange (saith he) is gathered vp and made more thinn, it is behoouth not so to lengthen it, that it become altogether weak and without depth. For it will so come to passe, that the enemy shall easily cut it in peeces, and make a passage thorough it, and not onely seeke to incompass it before, but passing thorough the middelt, bee found behinde, and there indamage it. And this it behoouth a Generall, not onely to take heede, hee suffer not himselfe, but also indeuour to put vpon his enemy.

M 2

Hitherto

i Leo cap. 7.
69.k Polyen lib. 4.
in Antiquo.
5. 19.

Hitherto are the words of Leo: shewing the disadvantage of a battaile too much thinned by doubling the length. But ¹ Leo elleswhere addeth an other cause of doubling, namely to make shew a faire sight of the Armie. For the more ground it taketh in front, the more will the number appeare, and the braverie of every man in particular discovered. Further Antigonus used also this doubling for a policie to beguile his enemy. ² Polien reporteth the fact thus: Antigonus incamped against Eumenes with an armie inferior in number. And when messengers were sent often from one to another, Antigonus at the receipt of a messenger of the enemy, commanded one of his souldiers to come running in, as it were out of breath, and all to be fulfilled with dust, and to bring newes that his Confederates were come. Antigonus hearing the newes, leaped for ioy, and sent away the messenger. The next day he led his Armie out of his trench, doubling the length of his front. When the enemy heard of their messenger the newes, that was brought to Antigonus concerning his Confederates, and saw the length of his battaile doubled, they imagined that the depth was answerable to the front. And therefore they dislodged being afraid to ioyne with him.

5 There are that mislike Counter-marches, and Elians doublings of number, are dangerous the enemy being ready to charge. Because the files of the Battaille must be kept in open Order till the motions be ended, which posture is not fit to receive the charge of the enemy, as we saw out of the eleventh Chapter. The other two doublings are done in close order, whereof I made mention a little before; The one dividing the middle men in halfe, and securing them up by the battaile on both sides; The other securing them upon one side which you will, may be used without danger, as well when the enemy is weare, as when the fight is: in as much, as they disturbe not the battaile, but advance fresh aides against the enemy on the flanks of it.

6 By inserting the second file] There are two manner of doublings of the depth or of files; one in number, the other in place. In number, when one file is inserted into another, the Leader or first man of the second file standing behind the Leader of the first; the second behind the second, the third behind the third, and so forth of the rest: Or when the even files counter-march, and their Leaders place themselves behind the Bringers-up of the odde, their files following them; or (which cometh all to one) the files being whole, they divide themselves into two parts in the front, and halfe counter-march, and place themselves in the Reare of the other file to file: albeit the two last are Doubt not both in number and place, and not in place alone. The true Doubling of the place alone is not Elian. The Insertion whereof I spake, remedie this defect also. There it is said, that when 16 men (that is, as a file) are so extended, that they possess as much length as 32 should doe, (that is, as 2 files) it is doubling of place, which is nothing else but changing of the Souldiers order into open order. For in their order they have 48 foote in depth; in their open order 96 foote in depth. In this Doubling of depth we must take heed that we make not the front of our Armie to narrow; lest we give opportunity to the enemy to incircle, and compass it. Polybius noteth this a great fault in Marcus Atilius Regulus, at such time as he fought with the Carthaginians, and was taken prisoner. His words have this effect: ¹ The Romans seeing the enemy order his battaile marched out against him full of courage. Being notwithstanding somewhat appalled at, and foreseeing the Elephants violence in coming on, they set their Darters before, and placed many maniples of Armea behind, one after another, and divided the Horse halfe into one wing, halfe into the other. Then making the whole battaile shorter, but deeper, then they were wont, they provided well against the Elephants, but not against the Horse, that farre exceeded theirs in

i Polyb lib. 1.

in number. Being now come to hands the Roman horse overpressed with multitude of the Carthaginians quickly fled from either wing. But the foote of the left wing, partly avoyding the Elephants, partly contemning the Mercenaries, fell on, and charged the right wing of the Carthaginians, and putting it to flight, followed hard, and gaue chase euen to the trench. But of those, that were placed against the Elephants, the first linking vnder the violence of the beasts, perished being overtaunted, and troden to death by heapes. The body of the battaile remained a while vnbroken by reason of the depth of them, that were after placed. But when the Reare of all, incompassed by the horse, was forced to turne about, and fight with them; and the other that had by force made way thorough the middle of the Elephants, and were now behind their backs, came vp to the fresh Phalange of the Carthaginians, standing in good order, they were by them slaine. Thus fortune being contrary on all sides, the Romans for the most part were troden to death by the excessive might of the beasts, and the rest died by the darts of the horsemen in the place, where they fought. The error of Atilius Regulus was in ordering his battaile too deepe; by means whereof it was easily incompassed, and distressed by the Carthaginian horse. ² Appian likewise blameth Antiochus for ordering his Phalange 32 men in depth, where the Macedonian Phalange ought to but 16 deepe, shewing that by that overfight it was incompassed by the Romans, and overborne. I have touched the historie in my notes before. Many other examples might be alledged, but these two are sufficient for our purpose.

m Appian in Syriae lib. 107. B.

The words of Command in doubling of the length by number.

Middle men double your Ranks to the right, or left hand.

By this Command the middle men with their halfe files march up to the front, in the spaces betwixt the files, and stand euen with the File-leaders, and the rest euen with the rest of the Ranks.

Doubling of the length in place.

Stand in your open order.

One halfe openeth their files to the right hand, the other to the left, and stand six foote one from another.

Doubling of the depth in number.

Double your files to the right or left hand.

The euen files fall into the spaces of the odde files.

Double your files by counter-march to the right or left hand.

The euen files counter-march, and fall behind the reare of the odde, and place themselves lineally after them, observing their first distances.

Divide your files and double them by counter-march to the right, or left hand.

Halfe the files divide themselves from the other halfe, and counter-march out behind the Reare, then turne their faces towards the place behind the Reare of the standing files, which remoued not; then march on, and place themselves orderly behind them file to file, then turne their faces, as at first.

Doubling the depth in place.

Ranks open behind to your open order.

The broad-fronted Phalange, the deep Phalange, or Herse, and the vneuen-fronted Phalange.

CHAP. XXX.

P *Lagiophalanx*, or the *broad-fronted Phalange*, is that, which hath the length much exceeding the depth.

Orthiophalanx, or the *deep Phalange* (commonly called the *Herse*) is that, which proceedeth by *wing* having the depth much exceeding the length. In generall speech every thing is called *Paramikes*, which hath length more then the depth; and that which hath the depth more, then the length, *Orthion*: and so likewise a *Phalange*.

The *Phalange Laxe*, or vneuen fronted, is that, which putterth forth one of the *wings* (which is thought fittest) toward the enemy, and with it beginning the *fight*, holdeth off the other in a convenient distance, till oportunitie bee to advance

Of Preamble, Protaxis, Epitaxis, Proflaxis, Eutaxis, & Hypotaxis.

CHAP. XXXI.

P *Preamble*, or *insertion* is, when placing souldiers before we take off the hindmost, and ranke them within the distances of the first.

Protaxis, or *fore-fronting*, is when we place the *light-armed* before the *front* of the *armed*, and make them *fore-standers*, as the *File-leaders* are.

When we place the light-armed behind, it is called *Epitaxis*, as it were an *after-placing*.

Proflaxis or *adioyning* is, when to both flanks of the battaile, or to one flanke, some part of the hindmost is added, the front of them, that are added, lying euen with the front of the battaile; such addition is called *Proflaxis*.

Entaxis, or *Insertion*, is when it seemeth good to set the light-armed within the spaces of the files of the *Phalange* man to man.

Hypotaxis, or *Double-winging*, is when you bestow the light-armed vnder the wings of the *Phalange*, placing them in an embowed forme; so that the whole figure resembleth a three-fold gate, or doore.

How the motions of wheeling, double, and treble wheeling of the battaile are to be made.

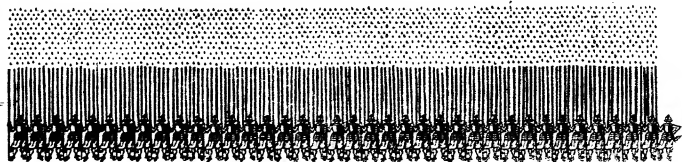
CHAP. XXXII.

IT followeth to shew how a battaile may be turned or wheeled, and how after reduced to the first posture, or Station.

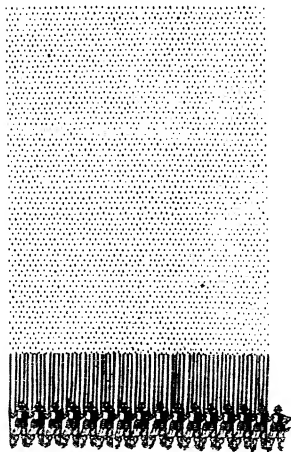
When therefore wee would accustome our Troupes to wheele the battaile to
the

Plagiophalanx or the Brode-Fronted
Phalange

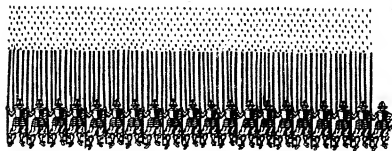
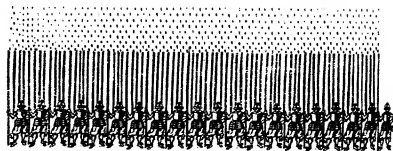
Fig. 3



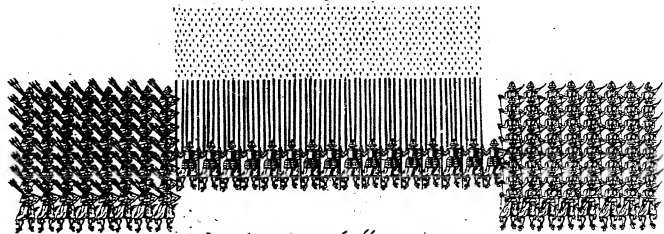
Orthophalanx or the Horse



Loce-Phalanx or the narrow-fronted
Phalange



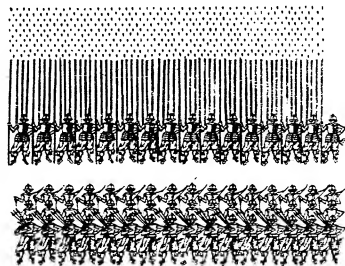
The Front



Hyporaxis, or double-winging



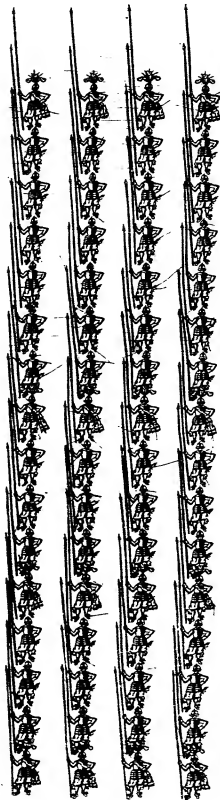
Entaxis, or insertion



Proaxis, or double-winging

Cap. 32.
The manner of wheeling

The first posture



Closing of files



Closing of ranks forme



The second

of Ælian.

the right hand, we command the right-hand-file to stand firme, & the rest of the files to turne their faces to the right hand, and to moue close vp to the right hand file. Then to turne their faces, as they were at first: Then the hinder ranks to close forward: Then the whole battaile in that closenesse to wheele about the corner-file-Leader to the right hand. This done, if neede be to reduce it to the first posture, or Station, we command euery man to turne about his face to the Target, or left hand (that is to looke the contrary way.) Then to wheele about the body, that is, as it turned, closed, & ferred with the front to the right hand so to returne it againe to the place, from whence it made the wheeling. Then the file-Leaders to stand firme, and the rest to open their ranks behind: Then to turne their faces about, as they stood at first: Then the right-hand-file to stand fast, and therewith turning faces to the left hand to open their files: Then to stand; And lastly to turne their faces againe to the right hand: and so shall euery man haue his first posture.

But in case we desire to wheele to the left hand, we command the left-hand-file to stand still, and all the rest to turne their faces to the left hand, and moue forward close vp to the left hand file: Then to turne their faces as they were; Then to goe thv p the hinder ranks; Then to wheele the battaile to the left hand, and stand; and so is it done, that was commanded. But if restitution to the first posture be needfull, we must doe, as we did in returning from the right. For euery man must turne about his face to the Pike; Then the whole battaile wheeling about the left-hand-corner-file-Leader must returne to the place, it had; Then all the file-Leaders stand firme, and turne about their faces, and the rest open their ranks in mouing forward and make Alte: Then the left hand file is to stand firme (for it hath the place it first had) and the rest turning their faces to the right hand to open their files, and moue forward, till they haue recovered their first distances; then to turne their faces as at first; and so shall euery man be in his first posture. Now if we would wheele the battaile about, to the pike we are to make 2 wheelings to the same side, so will it come to passe that the file-Leaders shall in the change haue their faces turned to the Reare, where before they had them looking out from the front. But in restoring to the first posture we command it to wheele about to the right hand; That is, we giue it two wheelings more the same way; So the file-Leaders will haue their faces set, as at first. Then we command the file-Leaders to stand firme, and the rest to open their ranks behind; then to turne their faces about; Then the right hand file to stand still (for it hath the right place) and the rest turning their faces to the right hand to march on, till the former distances are regained; then to make Alte. So is the battaile reduced to the first Station.

If you would haue the battaile turne about to the Target, you are to giue contrarie directions; That is, in stead of commanding a double wheeling to the Pike, to command a double wheeling to the Target; Then by making two turnes the contrary way, to vse the like changes, we spake of before.

There is likewise a treble wheeling of the battaile, when it turneth thrice to the same hand, namely to the Pike, or Target. The double wheeling to the Pike transferreth the Souldiers face from the front to the backe of the battaile: The treble wheeling to the Pike bringeth his face to the left flanke. The treble wheeling to the Target contrariwise to the right flank.

The Tacticks

Notes.

Before in the 26 Chapter Aelian discoursed of wheeling, and the kindes thereof. The manner, how it is to be done, is referred for this place, I neede not therefore remember any thing else, besides the words of command.

The words of command in Epistrophe.

*The uttermost file on the right or left hand stand firme
The rest turne faces (to the side purposed) and march vp to the file standing firme.*

Faces as you were.

Close your ranks forward:

Wheele the body (to the hand appointed) and when you haue your ground stand.

Returning to the first Posture, or Anastrophic.

Faces to the right or left hand

Wheele backe the body to the ground, it first had.

File-Leaders stand firme: the other ranker open to their first place.

Faces about (to which hand you will)

The corner file (to which the turning was) stand firme, the rest open to their first ground.

Faces as you were, and order your Pikes.

Peripastmos, or wheeling about.

*In wheeling about, the same wordes to close the files, and ranks, are to be used, which were used in Epistrophe, there remaineth no more, then to say
Wheele about your body, to the right, or left hand.*

Anastrophic or returning to the first Posture.

Returne to your first Posture.

The same forme is used, that was held in the former returning unto the first posture for opening ranks and files.

Eperipastmos, or treble wheeling.

In this motion the same course is held, that was in the wheeling; But only that you command a treble wheeling. And the returning to the first Posture, or Anastrophic is all one, but for the same difference.

*Of closing the battaile to the right, or left hand,
or to the middlest.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

IF we would close, or thicken the Phalange in the right wing, we are to command the right-wing, corner-file to stand still, and the rest turning faces to the Pike to aduance toward the right hand; Then to set their faces as they were, and to gather vp the ranks behinde. In reducing them to the first posture we are to command the file-Leaders to stand, and the rest turning about their faces to open their

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Cap. 32.

The action of wheeling



Cap. 22
of Ulysses

Coming to the middle

Coming to the
left hand

Coming to the
right hand

Coming to the
right hand

Coming to the
right hand

their ranks behind
wing came: all to
ceasing on to the 1
time their bees as
long to the left wing
If the *Thalange* be
mult times their law
Eyes toward the 18
Then, after they to
their right hands
When we would
tune Hecabeum: 1
Rank; then to run
ple, and the left 18
recovered their hat
This rule to be
out of doing, than
king his name;
The light anced

I have it clear to
part which to
years to precede out
is common the more
return to the
just to let took
Phalange: 1 cannot
command, or their

The right wing, 18
The right hand, 18
The right hand, 18
The right hand, 18
The right hand, 18

The left wing, 18
The left hand, 18
The left hand, 18
The left hand, 18
The left hand, 18

18 right hand

The right hand

The right hand

their ranks behinde; Then to turne their faces as they were; Then the right-wing, corner-file to it and (for it hath the right place already) and the rest proceeding on to the Target to follow their Leaders, and observing their distances to turne their faces as at first. A contrarie course is to be held in thickning the *Phalange* to the left wing.

If the *Phalange* be to be closed in the midst, the *Diphlange* on the right hand must turne their faces toward the Target, and the *Diphlange* on the left hand their faces toward the Pike; Then moue forward toward the midst of the *Phalange*; Then, after their true distance gained, to set their faces, as they were, and to gather vp the Ranks behind.

When we would reduce the *Phalange* to the first posture, wee command to turne faces about; then to open the Ranks, and all to moue on, but the first Ranke; then to turne their faces againe, and the right *Diphlange* turning to the Pike, and the left *Diphlange* to the Target to follow their Leaders, till they haue recovered their first distances. Then to set their faces, as they were.

This rule is to be obserued in all turnings about of faces, when they are made out of closings, that the Pikes be aduanced, least they hinder the Souldier in making his turning.

The light-armed are to be taught, and exercised after the same manner.

Notes.

In the 11 Chapter the distances, that ought to be betwixt souldier and souldier, are particularly treated of. This Chapter sheweth, how they are to be gained, that is, how we are to proceede out of one distance into another. And because the open order is it, that is commonly begunne withall, it is here taught how from thence to passe to the rest, and so returne to it againe. The end of closings is spoken of before. In regard of place they are said to be of two kinds: One to the wing (right or left) the other to the midst of the *Phalange*. I cannot expresse the manner better, then by setting downe the wordes of command, or direction, which are these in

Closing to the right wing.

The right-wing, corner-file stand firme

The rest turne faces to the Pike, and moue (according to the distance required) to the right hand.

Faces, as you were.

Close your hinder ranks forward, and order your Pikes.

Restoring to the first posture.

File-Leaders stand firme.

The other Ranks, turne faces about, and open behinde to the first distance.

Faces as you were.

The right-wing, corner-file stand firme; the rest turne faces to the Target, and proceede to your first distance.

Faces as you were; and order your Pikes.

Closing to the left wing.

It differeth not from the other, but that the mouing is to the contrarie hand.

Closing

The Tactics

Closing to the midst of the Battaille.

*The right wing turne faces to the Target, the left to the Pike.
Each move up to the midst of the Phalange, and stand at the distance named.
Faces as you were.
Close the hinder ranks forward, and order your Pikes.*

Restoring to the first Posture.

*The first ranke stand firme.
The rest turne faces about, and open the ranks to the first distance.
Faces as you were.
The files next the middle section stand fast, and the right wing turne faces to the Target, the left to the Pike, and move on till the first distance recovered.
Faces as you were, and order the Pikes.
We may not forget Elians generall rule for turning of faces out of Closings, that the Pikes be alwaies aduanced. For when you come up to the closeness required, the Pike upon the shoulder will hardly admit turning of the face. The like falleth out when you would open from the Closing.*

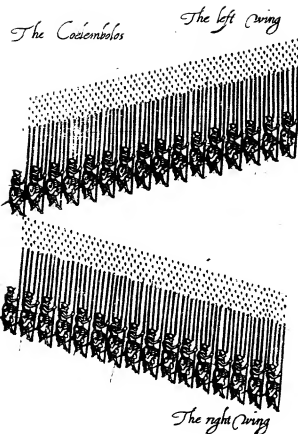
*The use, and advantage of these exercises
of armes.*

CHAP. XXIV.

THese precepts of turning about of faces, of wheeling, and double wheeling of the Battaille, and of reducing it to the first posture, are of great use in furdaine approches of the enemy, whether hee shew himselfe on the right, or left hand, or in front, or in the reare of our march. The like may bee said of Counter-marches; Of which, the Macedonians are held to bee the inuentors of the Macedonian; the Lacedemonians of the Lacedemonian; and for this cause either to haue name accordingly. The Histories witness, that Philip (who much enlarged the Macedonian kingdom, and overcame the Grecians in battaille at Cheronea, and made himselfe Generall of Greece) and likewise his sonne Alexander (that in short time conquered all Asia) made small account of the Macedonian countermarch, vnlesse necessitie forced it; and that they both by the use of the Lacedemonian became victorious ouer their enemies. For the Macedonian countermarch the enemy falling vpon the reare, is cause of great confusion; in as much as the hindermost dismarching toward the front, and making a shew of running away, it more encourageth, and emboldneth the enemy to follow. For feare, and pursuit of the enemy [ordinarily] accompanieth that kinde of countermarch. But the Lacedemonian is of contrarie effect. For when the enemy sheweth himselfe in the reare, the Leaders with their followers brauely aduancing, and opposing themselves, it striketh no small feare, and terror into their mindes.

CHAP.

Cap. 3.

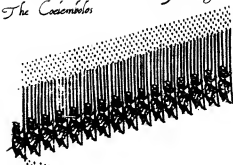


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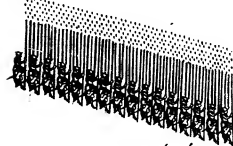
Cap. 36.

The *Colembolos*

The left wing



The front

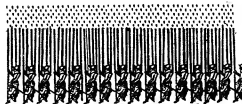


The right wing

The Phalange for against of left wing
of *Colembolos*



The foregoing Phylange



The Phalange for against of right wing
of *Colembolos*

Of the signes of direction, that are to be given to the
armie, and their severall kinde.

CHAP. XXXV.

WE are to acquaint our forces both foote, and horse, partly with the voice; and partly with visible signes, that whatsoever is fitting be executed, and done, as occasion shall require. Some things also are to be denounced by the Trumpet, for so all directions will be fully accomplished, and fort to a desired effect. The signes therefore, which are delivered by voice, are most evident, and cleere, if they have no impediment. But the most certaine, and least tumultuous, are such, as are presented to the eye, if they bee not obscured. The voice sometime can hardly be heard by reason of the clashing of armour, or trampling, and neighing of Horses, or rumult of cariage, or noyse, and confused founds of the multitude. The visible signes also become many waies uncertain, by thicknes of aire, and dust, or raine, or snow, or sun-shine, or else thorrow ground, that is uneven, or full of trees, or of runnings. And sometimes it will not be easie to find out signes for all eyes, occasion of effusions presenting new matter, to the which a man is not accustomed. Yet can it not fall out, that either by voice, or by signal, we should not give certaine and sure direction.

Of marching, and of divers kinde of Battails fit for a March: And
first of the right-induction, of the *Colembolos*, and
the Triphalange to be opposed against it.

CHAP. XXXVI.

BEING now to speake of marching I will first give to understand, that some kind of march is a *Right-induction*, other some a *Deduction* on the right, or left hand; And that it is a *single*, or *double*, or *triple*, or *quadruple*, *fish-battail*. In a *single*, when one enemy is feared; in a *double*, when two; in a *triple*, when three; in a *quadruple*, when the enemy purpofeth to give on on all sides. Therefore the march is undertaken sometimes in a *single Phalange*, sometimes in a twofold *Phalange*, or else in a threefold *Phalange*, or in a fourfold *Phalange*.

A *right-induction* is, when one body of the same kinde followeth another, as if a *Xenagay* lead, and the rest follow *Xenagay*-wise. Or a *Tetrarchy* lead, and the rest follow according to that forme. It is so called, when the march stretcheth it selfe out into a wing hauing the *Depth* much exceeding the length.

Against it is opposed the * *Colembolos*, which is framed, when the *Antiflomes* * Hollow Wedge. * *Diphlange* disjoyneth the leading-wings, closing the *Reare* in manner of the letter V: as the figure after placed doth teach, in which the *front* is diffused, & *Phalange* the *reare* ioyned, and knit together.

For the *Right-induction* pointing at the middest of the enemies battail, the *Colembolos* quickly opening before serveth both to frustrate the charge of the *front*, and to clasp in, and circumvent the *flanks* of the *right-induction*. Further-

* Treble Phalange.

The Tactics

Furthermore a * *Triphalange* is to be set against the *Calembolos*, one *Phalange* fighting against one wing of the *Calembolos*; The second against the other, and the middle, and third forbearing, and expecting a time fit to charge.

Of Parage, or Deduction.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Parage, or *Deduction* is, when the *Phalange* proceedeth in a wing not by file, but by rank, having the Commanders, or *file-Leaders*, either on the right hand, which is called a *right-hand-Deduction*, or on the left hand, which is called a *left-hand-Deduction*. For the *Phalange* marcheth in a *double*, *treble*, or *quadruple-file* according to the place, and part, it is suspected, the enemy will give on. And both the *Parages* beginning the fight in flanke doe make the length double to the depth. This forme of fight was devised to teach a Souldier to receive heedfully the charge of the enemy not onely in front, but also in flanke.

Of the Phalange Amphistomus.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

* Double fronted Phalange.

The *Phalange* * *Amphistomus* (for it is so called, because it hath two fronts, and that part of the battaile, that is set, and advanced against the enemy, is called a front) Seeing then in this forme the middlemost are ordered back to back, and those in front and reare make head against the enemy, the one being Commanders of the front, the other of the reare, therefore it is called *Amphistomus*. It is of great use against an enemy strong in Horse, and able to give a hot, and dangerous charge; and principally practised against those *Barbarians*, that inhabit about the river *Ister*, whom they also call * *Amphippi*, because they change Horses in fight.

* Horsemen that use two horses, one before, the other being ridden upon.

The Horse battaile to encounter this forme hath a *Tetragonall* shape, being for the purpose divided into two *broad-squares* (they are *broad-squares*, that have the front twice as much as the depth) And these *Squares* are opposed severally against the divisions of the foot-battaile.

Of the Phalange Antistomus.

CHAP. XXXIX.

* Double flanked Phalange.

The *Phalange* * *Antistomus* is like the *Amphistomus* the forme being a little altered; so that it accustometh the souldier to resist the severall kinds of incursions of Horse. All that hath bene spoken concerning the former *Phalange* both for foote, and Horse agreeth with this figure also. Herein they differ, that the

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oe the *Alms*,
ie their faces
This forme
hind, where
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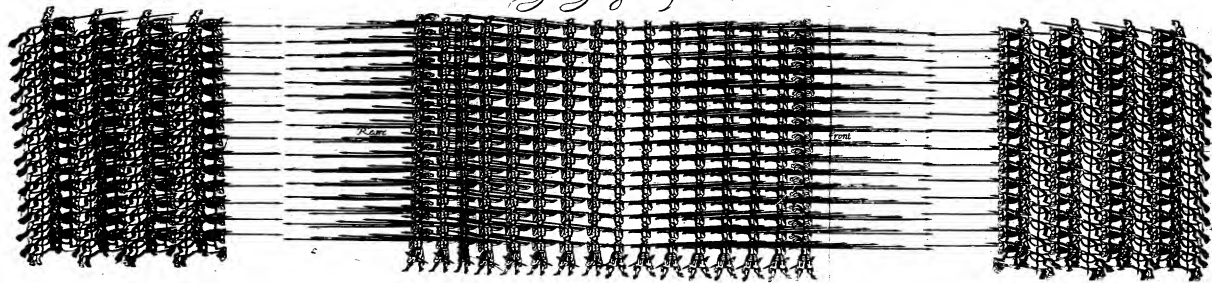
placed not in
n other, and
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following in
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g to charge,
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And they
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T berfore

Cap. 38
The Phalange Amphistomus



the *Amphistomus*, receiveth the c
But as well in the one, as the othe
and *Saurastans*. And the one h
forward, the other halfe backwar
hath two fronts, the one before,
the back-Commanders stand. And
the fore-front with the one, and t

Of the Diph

A *Diphlange Anisistomus* is that
Deduction outwardly, but in
the reare-Commanders without
Deduction.

This forme is vied when the Hor
Wedge shooting forth into a point
flanke, and endeaouring to discomf
dars of the footes, for seeing their pu
intent either to repulse them, or else
loffe. For the *Wedge* lieth upon the f
middest, and to disorder the whole b
ewing well the fury of that kinde o
front, and stand like walles on both
the middest, give them a fruitlesse, an

This forme of Horse-battle is ca
ted by Philip King of Macedonia, who p
weaker fort might be held in, and en
in a sword, the point whereof by reaso
keth way for, and letteth in the midd

of the Diphlange

CHAP

The Phalange of the Diphlange* Per
the oblique deduction on the right
the left hand oblique deduction the reare
eth the intent of them that fight so on
having bene at first *Tetragonall*, divide
right, and the left) of purpose to enclo
feared to bee inclosed transforme the
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it is called *Perisistomus*, as having the front be

* Treble Phal-
lans.

Further
fighting ag
the middle

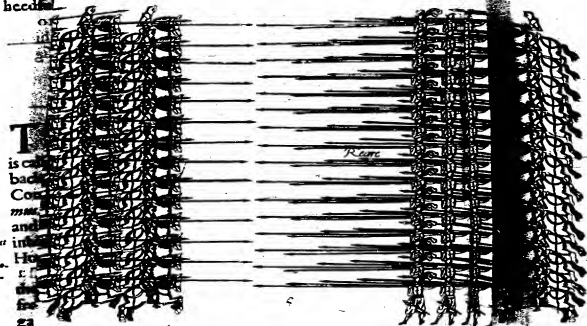
P *Arrogant*
buck
hand, with
a left-ha-
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And ho
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* Double from 1st Phalange.

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back to
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s
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^a Horsemen that use two horses, one spare, the other being ridden upon.

* Double flanked
Pistolette.



The *Amphistomum* receiveth the charge in front, and reare, the *Antistomum* in flanke But aswell in the one, as the other, they fight withlong Pikes, as doethe *Alas*, and *Sauromatans*. And the other halfe of the fouldiers in the file turne their faces forward, the other halfe backward; so that they stand back to backe. This forme hath two fronts, the one before, where the file Leaders, the other behind, where the *back-Commanders* stand. And being also diuided into a *Diphlange* it maketh the fore-front with the one, and the after-front with the other *P. balance*.

Of the Diphallanze Antistomus.

CHAP. XL.

A *Diphallange Antistomus* is that, which hath the file-Leaders placed not in Deduction outwardly, but inwardly face to face one against an other, and the reare-Commanders without, one halfe in a right, the other in a left-hand Deduction.

This forme is vsed when the Horse giue on and charge *Wedge*-wise. For the **Wedge* shooting forth into a point, and beating the Commanders following in flanks, and endeavouring to disfigure, and break the front of the foote, the Leaders of the foote, foreseeing their purpose, place themselves in the middle with intent either to repulse them, or elsse giue them a thorough passage into the losse. For the *Wedge* lieth vpon the foote in hope to charge the multitude in the middle, and to disorder the whole battaile : And the foote Commanders conceiuing well the fury of that kinde of forme, leaue a little space betwix either front, and stand like walles on both sides, and jointly turning their faces toward the middle, giue them a fruitlesse, and empty passage.

This forme of Horfe-battaile is called a *Wedge by Tacicks*, which was inu-
ented by *Philip King of Macedon*, who placed his best men before, that by them the
weaker sort might be held in, and enabled to the charge: as we see in a spear, or
in a sword, the point whereof by reason of the sharpnesse quickly piercing mak-
eth way for, and letteth in the middle blunt iron.

Of the Diphalange called Peristomus.

CHAP. XLI.

The Phalange of the Diphalange *Peristomum proceedeth by deduction in a wing, the oblique deduction on the right hand having the file of wings without, the left hand oblique deduction the reare-Commanders within. The figure beweth the intent of them that fight so ordered. For the battaile going to charge, having beene at first Turgoall, divideth it selfe into two oblique wings (A) and (B), as beinge directed by Turgoall to enclose the aduersē square-battaile. And they are feared to bee enclosed by the Turgoall, because the Phalanges pursuing Phalanges directing one against the right, the other against the left wing. Therefore it is called Peristomum, as having the front bent against the enemy both waies.

Z

Of the Diphalance called Homoiostomos, and
of the Plinthium.

CHAP. XLII.

* A double left-
fronced Plin-
thium.

A *Diphalance* * *Homoiostomos* is so named because a whole file (that is 16 men) moving by it selfe, another file followeth it. And it is therefore called *Homoiostomos*, because they that follow, follow in a like figure.

* A four-sided
battaile square
of men and
ground.

This kinde is opposed against the *Plinthium*. * *Plinthium* is a forme of Battaile, that hath the sides equall both in figure and number. In figure because the distances are every where equall; in number because there are as many men in length, as in depth. In this *four-sided Battaile* are none in the flanks, but armed, without Archer, or Slinger to helpe. When therefore two *Phalanges* march together, one by another, and both have their Leaders either in a right-hand, or left-hand *Deduction* it is called a *Diphalance Homoiostomos*.

Of the Diphalance Heterostomos.

CHAP. XLIII.

* A double Plin-
thium with con-
trary flanks.

A *Diphalance* * *Heterostomos* is that, which proceedeth by *Deduction*, having the Leaders of the former *Phalange* in a *right-hand-Deduction*, and of the following *Phalange* in a *left-hand-Deduction*: so that the battailes march counter-changeably, one having the Leaders in one flanke, and the other in the other: and so the rest.

Againe of the Battaile called a Rhombe, and of the
foote-halfe moone to encounter it.

CHAP. XLIV.

THE battaile framed in forme of a *Rhombe*, was first inuented by *Ileon* the *Thessalian*, and was called *Ile* after his name; and to this forme he exercised and accustomed the *Thessalians*. It is of good vse, in that it hath a Leader at euery corner, at the point the Capitaine, of the Troupe, the reare-Commander behinde, and on either side the flanke-commanders. The foote battaile, fittest to affront this, is the *Menoides*, or *Cressant*, having both the wings stretched out, and in them the Leaders, and the midst imbowed to inuiron and wrap in the Horsemen in their giuing on. Whereupon the Horsemen ply the foot a farre off with flying weapons, after the manner of the *Tarentines*, seeking thereby to dissolve, and disorder their circled frame of marching. *Tarentum* is a City of *Italy*, the Horsemen whereof are called *Acroboliti*, because in charging they first cast little *Darts*, and after come to hands with the enemy.

of

Of the Horse-battaile Heteromekes, and of the
Plagiophalange to be opposed against it.

CHAP. XLV.

THE Horse battaile * *Heteromekes* is that, which hath the depth double to the length. It is profitable in many respects. For seeming to cary but few into the thickest, and it easily breaketh his forces with the charge of the Horse; yet is nothing broken, but a little of the depth; and the fury of the Horse is carried not vpon the multitude of the foote, but straight, and immediately, into the open field. And for that cause is the length thereof much exceeding the depth.

* A Re-
fr.

Of another kinde of Rhombe for Horsemen, and of the
foote-Battaile Epicampios Empresthia to
encounter it.

CHAP. XLVI.

ANOTHER sort of *Rhomboides* there is, whereof I need say no more, but that it is fletch, and ranketh not. For I haue before shewed the vse, and that *Ileon* the *Thessalian* was the inuenter, and that *Iason Medeus* husband most put it in practise. The vse thereof is great being directed, and lead, in the foure corners by the Capitaine, the Lieutenant, and the two flanke-Commanders. It is commonly fashioned of Archers on Horsebacke, as the *Armenian*, and *Persian* manner is.

Against it is opposed the foote-battaile called * *Epicampios Empresthia*, because the *circumduction of the front* is like an embowing. The end of this forme is to deceiue and ouer-reach the Archers on Horsebacke either by wrapping them in the void space of the front, as they charge, and giue on vpon the spur, or else disordering them first with their wings, and breaking their fury, by overthrowing them finally with their ranks about the middle *Emfignes*. This kinde of Battaile was deuised to entrappe and beguile. For opening the middle hollownesse it maketh shew but of a few, that march in the wings, having new withstanding thrice as many following, and seconding, in the reare. So that, if the wings be of power sufficient for the encounter, there needeth no more; if not, retiring easily on either side, they are to ioyn themelues to the bulke of the Battaile.

* The hollow
fronced battaile.

N 2

of

The Tactics

*Of the foot-bataile called Cyrr, which is to be set
against the Epicampios.*

CHAP. XLVII.

* The common
bataile.

THE Bataile to be opposed against the *Epicampios* is called * *Cyrr* of the circumference forme. This also maketh semblance of small forces by reason of the conuexitie of the figure. For all round things appeare little in compasse; and yet stretched out in length, and singled, they proue twice as much, as they appeared to be: as is euident in pillars, which are round; and therefore in fight shew the one halfe, and conceale the other.

The greatest piece of skill in embattailing, is to make a shew of few men to the enemy, and indeed to bring twice as many to fight.

*Of the Tetragonal Horse-bataile and of the wedge
of foote to be opposed against it.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

* Four-square.

THE * *Tetragonal Horse-bataile* is square in figure, but not in number of men. For in *Squares* the number is not alwaies the same: and the Generall for his advantage may double the length to the depth. The *Persians*, *Sicilians*, and most of the *Grecians* doe affect this forme, and take it to bee easie in framing, and better in vse.

* Wedge.

Against it is opposed the *Phalange* called * *Embolos*, or *Wedge* of foote, all the sides consisting of armed men. This kinde is borrowed of the Horse-mans *wedge*. And yet in the Horse-wedge, one sufficeth to lead in front, where the Foote-wedge must haue three, one being vnable to beare the sway of the encounter. So *Epinondas* the *Theban* fighting with the *Lacedemonians* at *Mantineæ*, ouerthrew a mightie power of theirs by casting his armie into a *Wedge*. It is fashioned if the *Antistomus Diphalangy* in marching ioyn the front of the wings together, holding them open behind like vnto the letter Δ .

*Of the foot-Bataile called Ploesium, and of the win-
ding, or saw-fronted foot-bataile, to
encounter it.*

CHAP. XLIX.

THE Bataile *Ploesium* hath the length much exceeding the depth. And it is called *Ploesium*, when armed foote are placed on all sides, the Archers, and Slingers, being throwne into the midst. Against this kinde of Bataile is set the *winding-fronted-bataile*, to the end that with the vnequall figure, they may

traîne

of *Ælian*.

traîne out those of the *Ploesium* to cope with the foremost of the *winding-fronted-bataile*, and by that means dissolve, and disorder the thickest of the same. And the file-Leaders of the *winding-bataile* are to obserue, and marke the file-Leaders of the *Ploesium*, that if they still maintaine their closenesse, and lightnesse, they also encounter them in the like forme; if the *Ploesium* file-Leaders seuer themselves, and spring out from their maine force, then they likewise bee ready, to meet them man to man.

*Of Hyperphalanges, and Hyperkeras, and
of Attenuation.*

CHAP. L.

HYPERPHALANGES, or *ouer-fronting* is, when both wings of the *Phalange* ouer-reach the enemies front. *Hyperkeras*, or *ouerwinging* is, when with one of the wings we ouer-reach the fronts of the enemy. So that hee, that *ouerfronteth*, *ouerwingeth*, but hee, that *ouerwingeth*, *ouerfronteth* not. For they, that match nor the enemy in multitude, may yet *ouerwing* them.

ATTENUATION or lessening is, when the depth of the bataile is gathered vp, and in stead of 16 men a smaller number is set.

Of conueying the Carriage of the Army.

CHAP. LI.

THE leading of the carriage, if any thing else, is of great importance, and requireth a speciall Commander. It may bee conueyed in siue manners, either before the Armie, or behinde, or on the one flanke, or the other, or in the midst.

Before the Army, when you feare to bee charged behind. Behind the Army, when you would leade toward the enemy. When you feare to bee charged in flanke on the contrary side. In the midst, when a *hollow-Bataile* is needfull and fit.

*Of the words of Command, and certaine obser-
uations about them.*

CHAP. LII.

LAST of all wee will briefly repeate the words of direction, if we admonish, first that they ought to be short, then that they ought to be without *double-signification*. For the Souldiers, that in haile receive direction, had neede to take heede of doubtfull words, least one doe one thing, and another the contrarie. As for the

N 3

purpose

The Tactics

purpose: If I say *turne your face*, some it may be, that heare mee, will turne to the right, some to the left hand, and so no small confusion follow. Seeing therefore these words *turne your face* import a generall signification, and comprehend *turning to the right, or left hand*, we ought in stead of saying *turne your face to the pike*, to pronounce it thus: *To your Pike turne your face*, that is, we ought to set the particular before, and then inferre the generall. Like reason is, if you say, *turne about your face*, or *countermarch*. For these are also generall words; And therefore wee should do well to set the particular before. As to the *Pike turne your face about*, or to the *Target turne your face about*. Likewise the *Lacedemonian countermarch*, not the *Countermarch Lacedemonian*. For if you place the word *Countermarch* first, some of the Souldiers will happily fall to one kind, other to another kinde of *Countermarch*. For which cause words of double sense are to be avoided, and the special to be set before the generall.

Of silence to be used by Souldiers.

CHAP. LIII.

BUT about all things silence is to bee commanded, and that heed be given to directions: As *Homer* specially signifieth in his descriptions of the *Graecian* and *Troian* fights.

*The skilfull Chief-taines pressed on, guiding with carefull eye
Their Armed troupes, who followed their Leaders silently,
T'was surely would have seem'd, each one of all that mighty throng
Had been bereft of speech, so bridled he his beedfull tongue,
Fearing the dread Commanders checke, and awfull best's among.
Thus march'd the Greekes in silence, breathing flames of high desire,
And fervent zeale, to backe their friends, on foes to wreake their ire.*

As for the disorder of the Barbarians he resembleth it to birdes saying.

*As shoales of fowle, geese, cranes, and swannes with necks far stretched out,
Which in the stony fennes Caisters winding streames about
Sheare here, and there, the liquid skie, sporting in wanton wing.
Then fall to ground with clanging noise, the fennes all over ring:
None other wise the Troians fill the field with heaped sounds
Of broken, and confused cries, each where tumult abounds.*

And againe:

*The Captaines may shall out their Troupes ranged in goodly guise:
And forth the Troians pace like birds, which lade the aire with cries.
Not so the Greekes, whose silence breathed flames of high desire,
Fervent in zeale to back their friends, on foes to wreake their ire.*

CHAP.

The words of Command.

CHAP. LIIII.

Thus then are we to command.

- T**O your Armes.
Stand by your Armes.
Carriage away from the battaile.
Marke your directions.
Seperate your selues.
Advance your Pikes.
File and ranke your selues.
Looke to your Leader.
Reare Commander order your file.
a Keepe your first distances.
b Faces to the Pike, moue a little further, stand so, as you were.
b Faces to the Target, moue a little further, stand so.
b Faces about to the Pike, moue a little further, stand so.
c Double your Depth. To your first posture.
c Double your Length. To your first posture.
d The *Lacedemonian countermarch*. To your first posture.
d The *Macedonian countermarch*. To your first posture.
d The *Choraeon countermarch*. To your first posture.
e Battaile wheele to the Pike. To your first posture.
e Battaile wheele about to the Pike. To your first posture.

a Before cap. 112.

b Before cap. 115.

c Before cap. 126.

d Before cap. 128.

e Before cap. 126.

These precepts of the *Art Tacticske* (most inuincible *Cesar*) I haue laide out to your Matie, which will be a means of safety to such, as shall use them, and of the ouerthrow of their enemies.

N 4

The



THE EXERCISE OF THE ENGLISH IN

the seruice of the high and mighty Lords,

the LORDS the ESTATES of the vni-
ted PROVINCES in the Low
COUNTRIES.



HE Soldiers are diuided into two kinds, *Foote* and *Horse*. The *Foote* againe are of two kinds; *Pikemen* and *Muskettiers*.

Pikemen are armed with a head-peece, a Curace and Tases defensiu, and with a Pike of fiftene foote long, and a Rapier offensiu. The Armour is all yron; the Pike of Aſhen wood for the Steale, and at the vpper end an yron head of about a handfull long with cheekes about the length of two foote, and at the butt-end a round strong locker of yron ending in a pike, that is blunt, yet sharpe enough to fixe to the ground. The forme thereof is expressed in the grauen figure.

The *Muskettier* hath a head-peece for defence, a *Musket*, the barrell of the length of 4 foote, the bore of 12 bullets to the pound; a Banelier, to which are fastned a convenient number of charges for powder (sometimes as many as 15 or 20) a leather bagge for bullets, with a pruning yron; a Rest for the *Musket* with an yron forke on the vpper end to support it in discharging, and a pike on the nether end to sticke into the ground; lastly, a Rapier. The figure of this armour also is here inserted.

These soldiours, both Pike-men, and Muskettiers, are diuided into Companies; and euery Company consisteth, halfe of Pikes, halfe Muskettiers. The Companies are some more in number, some lesse. Some reach to 300 men, some 200, some 100, some 90, some 80, some 70. Euery Company hath these officers of the field: A Captaine, a Lieutenant, an Ensigne, 2 Serieants, 3 Corporalls, two Drummes; and for other vſes, a Clerke, a Surgion, and a Prouost.

Companies are compacted into Regiments; and the Regiments commanded by Coronells. Regiments containe not alwaies a like number of Companies, some hauing 10, some 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, some 30 Companies and aboue. In euery Regiment are a Coronell, a Lieutenant Coronell, a Serieant Maior, all officers of the field; a Quarter-master, and a Prouost-martiall for other employments. It shall not be greatly to the purpose to mention higher officers, then Coronells, my principall intent being no other, then to set downe the armes and exercise of our Nation in the said vnitd Provinces. Their armes are spoken of. Their exercise follows.

The

First both Pikes and Muskets are ordered into files of 10 deepe. The Muskets are sometime placed before, sometime in flanke, sometimes in the reare of the pikes.

To exercise the motions, there are two distances to be observed.

The first is when every one is distant from his fellow 6 foote square, that is in file and ranke 6.

The second is when every Souldier is 3 foote distant one from the other as well in file as in ranke.

And because the measure of such distances cannot be taken so iustly by the eye, the distance of 6 foot betwixt the files is measured, when the Souldiers stretching out their armes doe touch one anothers hands: and betwixt the Ranks, when the ends of their pikes come well nigh to the heeles of them; that march before. And the measure of 3 foote betwixt the files is, when their elbows touch one another; betwixt the ranks, when they come to touch the ends of one anothers Rapiers.

For to march in the field, the distance of 3 foote from file to file is kept, and of 6 foote from Ranke to Ranke.

To order themselves in Battaille, as also to goe towards the enemy, the distance of 3 foote in file, and ranke, is observed; and likewise to conversion or wheeling on.

The Musquetiers also going for to shoote by Ranks keep the same distance of 3 foot, but going to skirmish they goe *à la Disbande*, which is out of order.

There is yet another sort of distance, which is not used, but for to receive the enemy with a firme stand, and seruethe for the pikes onely (for the Musquetiers cannot be so close in files, because they must have their Armes at liberty) & that is, when every one is distant from file to file a foote and a halfe, and 3 foote from Ranke to Ranke. And this last distance is thus commanded, *Close your files thoroughly*. But it is not to be taught the Souldiers, for that, when necessitie shall require it, they will close themselves but too much, of their owne accord without command.

To begin therefore to doe the exercises, the Company is set in the first distance, to wit of 6 foote in file, and ranke, and thus is said

Stand right in your files.

Stand right in your ranks.

Silence.

To the right hand.

As you were.

To the left hand.

As you were.

To the right hand about.

To the left hand as you were.

To the left hand about.

To the right hand as you were.

These are the generall words of Command which are often to be used.

You must note that when they are commanded to be as they were, they must returne thither, from whence they parted; and if they turned to the right hand, they must returne to the left, and so in countermarch.

To

To the right double your ranks.
Ranks as you were.

To the left hand double your ranks.
Ranks as you were.

To the right hand double your files.
Files as you were.

To the left hand double your files.
Files as you were.

With halfe files to the right hand double your Ranks.
Halfe files as you were.

With halfe files to the left hand double your Ranks.
Halfe files as you were.

Files to the right hand countermarch.
Files to the left hand countermarch.

To the right hand or left at discretion as you were.

Ranks to the right hand countermarch.
Ranks to the left hand countermarch.

To the right or left hand as you were.

Close your Files }
Close your Ranks } to 3 foote distance.

Understand that in Closing from the outsidies to the middle the Soldier is to stand in his distance of 3 foote in file, and not closer.

To the right hand wheele.

To the left hand wheele.

Open your Ranks backwards in your double distance to wit at 12 foote, and this for a single Company.

Ranks as you were, &c. at the first.

In opening Ranks or Files, you must keepe them closed vntill the second Ranke or File beginning from the outsidies have taken their distances, and so shall the rest remaine close vntill every Ranke or File have taken their distances in order.

Open your files, to wit to the first distance of 6 foote.

If you will command to close files to the right hand or left hand, the outmost file standeth still, and the rest close to that file.

For the Pike with a firme stand.

Advance your Pikes.

Order your Pikes.

Slope your Pikes.

Charge

Charge your Pikes.
Order your Pikes.
Traile your Pikes.
Cheecke your Pikes.

More for the Pikes first with a firme stand and then marching.

Charge your Pikes.
Slope your Pikes.
To the right hand charge your Pikes.
Slope your Pikes.
To the left hand charge your Pikes.
Slope your Pikes.
Charge your Pikes to the Reare.
Slope your Pikes.
Order your Pikes.

This must be obserued charging your Pikes with a firme stand to set the right foot behind, and charging the Pikes marching to set the left foot before.

For the Musquet.

THe Postures in his Excellencies Booke are to be obserued; but in exercising you must onely vie these three termes of direction.

Make ready.

Present.

Give fire.

Your Musquetiers must obserue in all their motions to turne to the right hand, and that they carry the mouth of their peece high, as well when they are shouldred, as in pruning, and also when they hold their pannes garded, and come vp to giue fire.

The enemy before the Vanguard.
In advancing towards an Enemy, when they doe not skirmish loose and dif-

banded, they must giue fire by Ranks after this manner.

Advancing.
Two Ranks must alwaies make ready together, and aduance ten paces forward before the body, at which distance, a Sergeant (or when the body is great some other officer) must stand, to whom the Musquetiers are to come vp before they present, and giue fire, first the first ranke. And whilst the first giues fire, the second Ranke keepe their Musquets close to their Rests, and their pannes garded, and as soone, as the first are fallen away, the second presently present, and giue fire, and fall after them.

Now as soone as the first two Ranks doe move from their places in the front: The two Ranks next them must vnshoulder their Musquets, and make ready, so as they may aduance forward ten paces as before as soone as euer the two first ranks are fallen away; and are to doe in all points as the former. And all the other Ranks through the whole diuision must doe the same by twos, one after another.

A MANNER

A manner there is to giue fire retyring from an Enemy, which is performed after this sort.

As the Troope marcheth the hindermost ranke of all keeping still with the Troope is to make ready, and being ready, the fouldiers in that ranke turne altogether to the right hand and giue fire, marching presently away a good round pace to the front, and there place themselves in ranke together iust before the front: As soone as the first ranke turne to giue fire, the ranke next makes ready, and doth as the former, and so the rest.

The enemy is the Reare.

We giue fire by the flanks thus. The vppermost file next the Enemy must be commanded to make ready, keeping still along with the body, till such time, as they be ready, and then they turne to the right, or left flank (according to the fight of their enemies either vpon the right, or left flank) and giue fire altogether. When they haue discharged they stirre not, but keepe their ground, and charge their Peece againe in the same place, they stand. Now as soone as the foresaid file doth turne to giue fire, the vttermost next it makes ready alwaies keeping along with the Troope till the Bringer-up be past a little beyond the Leader of that file, that gaue fire last; and then the whole file must turne, and giue fire, and doe in all points as the first did, and so the rest one after the other. A Sergeant, or if the Troope be great some other better qualified Officer must stand at the head of the first file, and as soone as the second file hath giuen fire, and hath charged, he is to lead forward the first file vp to the second file, and so to the rest one after another, till he hath gathered vp againe the whole wing, and then he is to ioyne them againe in equall front with the pikes.

The enemy is the flank.

Last of all the Troope or whole wing of Musquetiers makes ready altogether, and the first ranke without aduancing giues fire in the place they stand in, and speedily as may be, yet orderly falls away, all the ranks doing the same successively one after another.

The enemy is the front.

without aduancing.

Thus much of the armes and exercise of the footie:

The horse ensue.

The order and discipline holden in Horse-troopes, or in the Cavalry.

THE Cavalry hath for his Cheife the Generall, the Lieutenant Generall; and the Comissary generall.

To the Cavalry there is a Quarter-master generall, and a Prouost generall belonging; the Iustice resorteth to the Councell generall of warre of the Army.

The Cavalry is of two sorts. *Harcquebustiers, and Curasiers.*

The first haue for defensiu armes, the Curace pistoll prooffe, and a light head-peece. For offensiu the Carbine of 3 foote, 3 inches length, and the bore of 20 bullets in the pound, and Pistolls like vnto the Curasiers.

The Curasiers haue for defensiu Armes a compleat armour, the Curace pistoll prooffe. For offensiu two pistolls hauing the barrell of 26 inches in length, and the bore of 36 bullets in the pound. See the figure of Armes.

For the order in Regiments the 40 Companies entertained by the States doe make eleuen Regiments.

The Regiment of the Generall hath alwaies the Vantgard, the others alternately

natiuely and by turnes, and he that hath it this day, the next day after hath the Reare, the rest following in the same sort.

Those which command the Regiments are called *Coronells*. The Regiments are compounded of 3, or 4 Companies (of 3 at the least) and the Coronells Company marcheth alwayes on the left wing of the Regiment.

The Captaines receiue orders from their Coronells, as these from the Com-military General.

All the Companies are diuided in 3 equall parts, which are called Squadrons, and distributed to the three chiefe officers; Capitaine, Cornett, and Lieutenant, hauing each of them adioyned an old Souldier, which they doe know to bee of more desert, called a Corporall.

Marching in the field, euery Officer marcheth at the head of his Squadron, the Lieutenant excepted, which marcheth behind with the Quartermaster; and the third Corporall at the head of the Lieutenants Squadron.

The Companies are diuided by files, and rankes, the file 5 deepe, and no more, how strong fouer the Company be.

They obserue that in marching in battaile they must be close together, and to doe the *Mansions* there must be 6 foote distance from one Horseman to another.

The Companies being in battaile, there must be 25 paces distance left between euery Company, and 50 betwixt euery Regiment at the least.

The exercise of Armes for the Cavalry.

To open the Squadron you must first open the rankes and after the files.

To close the Squadron, you must first close the files, and after the rankes.

There be two sorts of distances betwixt the files; the one close, and the other open.

In the Close there must be no distance or intervals betwixt the files, to the open there must be 6 foote betwixt euery file.

Likewise there must be two sorts of distances betwixt the rankes; the Close, which must be without intervall or streete; and the Open, which must be fix foote distance.

In a march it must be vnderstood, that the rankes must neuer be more opened, then the open distance of 6 foote.

And to the end that the Troope may march in good order, and obserue well their distance betwixt the rankes, without that the last may be forced to runne or goe to fast, there must be heed taken, that so soone, as the first rankes begin to march, all the Troope, and the Reare also at one time march.

The words of Command are

Open your Rankes.

Open your files.

Stand tight in your rankes.

Stand tight in your files.

To the right hand.

As you were.

To

To the left hand.

As you were.

To the right hand about.

To the left hand as you were.

To the left hand about.

To the right hand as you were.

Files to the right hand countermarch.

Files to the left hand countermarch.

To the right or left hand as you were.

Rankes to the right hand countermarch.

Rankes to the left hand countermarch.

Close your files.

Close your rankes.

To the right hand wheele.

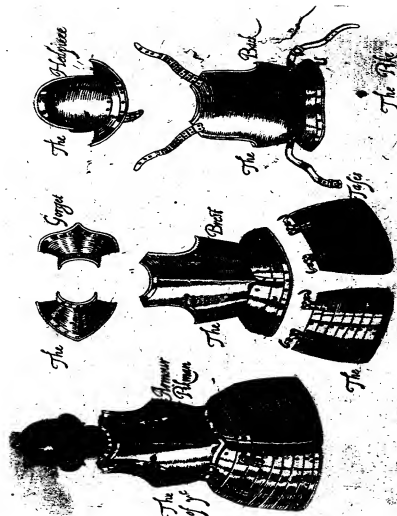
To the left hand wheele.

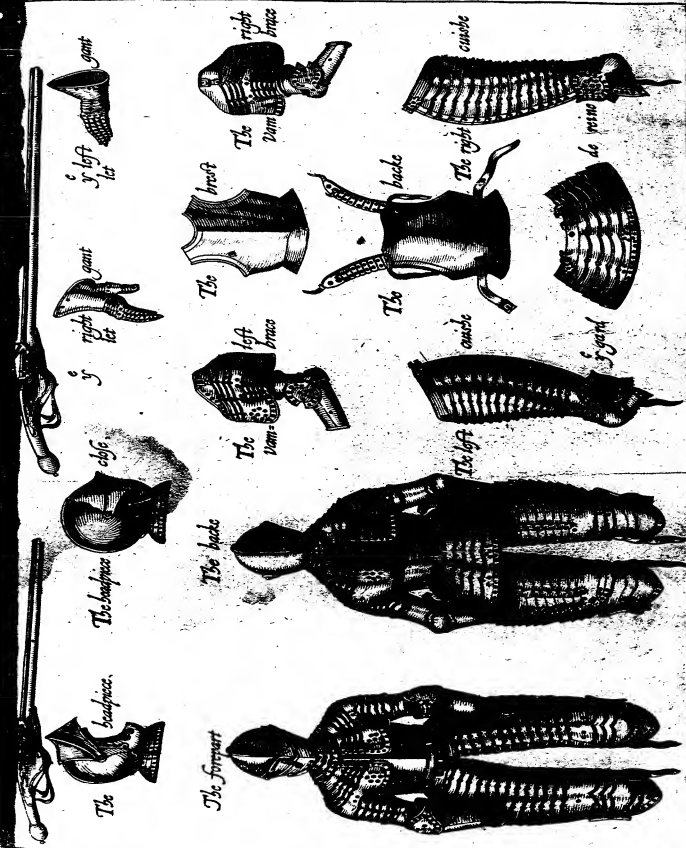


Rankes

Faults escaped in the Book.

Pag. 2. in the margin beneath, for *Spartianum* read *Spartianus*. pag. 9. lin. 20. for *was*, were. & lin. 31. for *Bir-*
canna, *Bircanna* 3. and in the marg. lin. 40. for *Diposiph*, *Diposiph*. pag. 10. lin. 26. in marg. for *Adrian*, *Adrian*.
 pag. 14. l. 1. in marg. for *Diposiph*, *Diposiph*. pag. 15. l. 18. for *Adrian*, *Adrian*. pag. 17. l. 47. for *plumes*, *Plumes*.
 pag. 18. l. 49. for *conceded by*, *conceded*. pag. 20. l. 45. for *Thuron*, *Thuron*. lin. 48. dele *fall*. pag. 22. l. 1. for *Thofe*, *Thofe*.
 l. 11. for *Ochans*, *Ochans*. l. 32. dele *Thon*. pag. 23. l. 12. for *Divarates*, *Divarates*. pag. 27. l. 1. for *immitation*, *imitation*. pag. 28.
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Analyst, *Analyst*. pag. 31. l. 15. put in. pag. 32. l. 19. & 33. for *beds*, *beds*. pag. 33. l. 35. & 41. for *Sorvidae*, *Sorvidae*.
 pag. 34. l. 3. for *forbids*, *forbids*. l. 19. *Tapana*, *Tapana*. pag. 39. *unfalsible*, *unfalsible*. l. 43. dele *once*, & for *all*. pag. 35. l. 41. *redell*,
redell. pag. 36. l. 40. in marg. *de beti*, *de beti*. pag. 39. l. 17. *frisk*, *frisk*. pag. 44. l. 12. in marg. *Exoneth*, *Exoneth*. l. 24. *Exa-*
moneth, *Exoneth*. pag. 31. 32. *Proccus*, *Proccus*. lin. 47. after *Proccus*, a full point. pag. 49. l. 7. *Bathura*, *Bathura*.
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 l. 29. *infer*, *infer*. *an Army*, *that* *of*. *marveth*, *marveth*. & lin. 47. after *infer*, *infer*. pag. 82. l. 7. *infer*, *infer*.
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FINIS.

THE ART OF
EMBATTAILING

AN
ARMY.

OR,
THE SECOND PART OF
ÆLIANS TACTICKS.

WITH NOTES VPON
EVERY CHAPTER.

By Capt. JOHN BINGHAM.



LONDON.
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BRVDENELL for RALPH MAB.
1629.



TO THE RIGHT VVOR-
SHIPFULL SIR HUGH HAMERSLY,

Knight, one of the Aldermen and Coronels of the
Honorable City of LONDON, and President of the
Martiall Company, Exercising Armes in the Artillery
Garden in LONDON.

TO CAPTAINE HENRY VVALLER,
NOW CAPTAINE OF THE
SAID COMPANT.

AND

TO ALL THE REST OF THE
Worthy Captaines and Gentlemen of the
said Company.

Captaine I. B. wisheth such valour and experience,
as may make them victorious against all
forts of Enemies.

Worthy Gentlemen:



These my last endeouours vpon Elian, I
purposed to haue kept to mine owne pri-
uate vse, and not to haue presented
them to the view of the world. But now
being to depart from you, and to iourney
into a farre Countrey, and finding your
kindnesse and loue toward me such, as I was not with any
reason to expect, I altered my minde, and hauing nothing
else

A 3

The Epistle Dedicatory.

else to offer unto you, I resolved to make this a monument of my thankfulness to you, and a testimony of my desire to doe you the best service I am able. For my paines herein, I leaue them to the iudgement of any learned Reader; for the profit of the Treatise, I say no more but this, it containeth the practise of the best Generals of all antiquity concerning the formes of Battailles. And whereas many bold opinion, that it sorteth not with the vse of our times, they must giue me leaue to be of another mind: Indeed our actions in Warre are onely now a dayes and sieges oppugnations of Cities; Battailles wee heare not of, saue onely of a few in France, and that of Newport in the Low-Countries. But this manner will not last alwayes, nor is there any Conquest to be made without Battailles. He that is Master of the field, may dispose of his affaires as he listeth; he may spoyle the Enemies Countrey at his pleasure, he may march where he thinketh best, he may lay siege to what Towne he is disposed, he may raise any siege that the Enemy hath layed against him or his. Neither can any man be Master of the field without Battaille, in ordering whereof, that Generall that is most skilfull, seldome misseth of winning the day: experience of former times cleares this. I should exceede the compasse of an Epistle if I brought the examples, which serue to this purpose. Now for the skil of ordering Battailles, it is not to be learned out of the practise of our dayes, wherein when we come into the field, we make shewes, and musters rather, then obserue any formes of Battailles for vse: Battailles must not be alwayes of one figure. The wise Generals of antient times, fashioned their battailles according to the range, which they saw the Enemy had before taken vp. The place often maketh an altera-

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alteration in that forme, which otherwise would serue to our purpose. He that is acquainted but with one forme, if he be forced to change that upon the sudden, disordereth his troopes, and bringeth all into a confusion. The knowledge of the formes of battailles being then so necessary for a Generall, this little Pamphlet must needs be welcome to them that desire the manning of fields, and the command of Armies. For here haue you all formes expressed, together with their vse; so that the Generall that is acquainted with the practise of these precepts, shall not be to seeke to make transmutation of his battaille, into what forme soeuer necessity shall require, & that upon the sudden. As for them that hold, that great Ordnance will not admit any of these ancient formes in our dayes, I hold that for a dreame, and not worthy the answering; since the inuention of great Ordnance, we neuer read of any forme of battaille disordered thereby: some slaughter hath bene made by great Ordnance, and the Army that suffered by great Ordnance, hath bene forced the sooner to ioyne with the Enemy; when the Armies are ioyned, great Ordnance hath and must sit still, and looke about as an idle Spectator, seruing for no other vse, then for a pray to him that gaineth the field. Now for small shot, it succeedeth in the place of the light-armed of antiquity. By them a Battaille may be broken, if they be not repressed, and themselves cut off in time. But what is said of them, that may not be said of Bowes and Arrows? The greatest fields that we gained against the French, were gained onely by our Archery. To say nothing of other Nations, that had the skill of shooting: so that no reason can be alleadged why the formes of Battailles used by antiquity for aduantage, may not be as well used in our dayes.

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dayes. Howsoever the matter standeth, my desire is, that the Treatise may with your fauourable acceptance beare your names in the Front thereof. Not because I thinke it worthy of your Patronage, but for that I would haue it appeare to the world, how much I esteeme of your kindnesse (as I said) and of your loue, which you expressed toward me in my taking leave of the City. The Lord of hostes haue you in his keeping.

Your seruant, as heretofore,

to doe you seruice.

JOHN BINGHAM.



THE TACTICKS OF *ÆLIAN*, OR THE ART OF EMBATTAL- LING ARMIES.

The broad-fronted Phalange, the deepe Phalange, or Herse, and the vneuen-fronted Phalange.

CHAP. XXX.



(1) *Lagiphalange*, or the broad-fronted *Phalange*, is that, which hath the (2) length manifoldly exceeding the depth.

(3) *Orthiphalange*, or the deepe *Phalange* (now commonly called the *Herse*) is that, which proceedeth by a (4) winge, hauing the depth much exceeding the length. In generall speech euery thing is called (5) *Parameter*, which hath the length more then the depth; and that which hath the depth more then the length

(6) *Orthien*: and so likewise a *Phalange*.

The *Phalange* (7) *Loxe*, or vneuen-fronted, that is, which putteth forth one of the wings (which is thought fittest) towards the Enemy, and with it begins the fight, holding off the other in a conuenient distance, till opportunity be to aduance.

NOTES.

His Chapter and the next, seeme not to hold their right place: for being set before the manner how to wheele, and likewise before closings, and inserted betwixt the motions of the *Phalange* (to which motions, or to one of them, the manner of *wheeling* and *closing* appertaine) they interrupt the method or orderly handling of the said motions; which method *Ælian* curiously obserueth through his whole Booke. Besides, *Ælian* himselfe, after a manner pointeth out the true place of them, in that in the 34 Chapter, rehearsing shortly the appellations or words of Military discipline, he placeth these formes after Induction and Deduction: I take it therefore, that their proper place is after the 37 Chapter, the rather, because the formes of Marches from thenceforth handled, are either *Squares* of the one kinde or other, or else spring out of these *Squares*. I^o noted before

The Tactics of Ælian,

fore, that there are three kinds of Squares; one, that hath a longer front than flanke; another, that hath a longer flanke, then front; the third, that hath the front and flanke equal. Of the third *Ælian* speaketh in the 42 Chapter, of the first and second in this Chapter: of these two therefore I will treat in order. And first I will handle the *ῥωμαίος*, then the *ῥωμαίος*, lastly the manner how to transforme one into another.

The first is called

1. *Plagiophalanx*, or the broad-fronted Phalanx.) The word *ῥωμαίος* is often interpreted for oblique, which signification it cannot have heere; the oblique Phalanx being in this Chapter termed by the name of *ῥωμαίος*, and yet distinguished from the *Plagiophalanx*. They that translate *Plagiophalanx*, the transverse or over-thwart fronted Phalanx, agree better with *Ælian*'s meaning, because it meeteth the enemy with a front transverse, and drawne out in length, and directly opposite against him. I have rendered it the broad fronted Phalanx, as more fitting the English tongue: It may also be called the long-fronted Phalanx. For breadth (I have remembered it before) and length of a Phalanx are all one: In this sense is the word *ῥωμαίος* used by *Ælian*, being applied to the manner of bearing of a Pike. He telleth, that *Alexander* transported his Army over the river *Ῥωδῶν* to invade the territory of the *Cetes*; and hath thus, *The number of those that passed the river with Alexander, were about 1500 horse, and 4000 foot. They passed in the night, and landed where the Corne was high, which was the cause that their arrival was not discovered. As soon as the morning appeared, Alexander led them through the Corne field; Commanding the foot, that bearing downe the Corne with their Pikes held a thwart, whereas the horsemen they should march into the Champagne. The manner of their bearing of Pikes (as I interpret it) was this; They took the Pikes in the midst with both their hands, and so bore them out, not with the points forward, but crosse and parallel the front of the Phalanx, that the file leaders with one ioynt force might ledge and beare downe the high-growne Corne, and make easier passage for those that followed. If they had carried them out slope, or oblique (which is the other signification of the word) it had bene no more, then the particular force of every man a part, that held his Pike sloping; besides that, they would have bene intangled in the Corne; whereas the bearing of them crosse parallel with the front, was the ioynt force of so many file-leaders, as did thrust forward against the Corne. Therefore as when the Pike is borne in full length crosse the front of the battaile, the posture of the Pike is said to be *ῥωμαίος*, so is a Phalanx termed *ῥωμαίος*, that hath a front stretched out in even length, and opposed against the even front of the adversarie battaile of the enemy.*

2. *The length manifestly exceeding the depth:* *Ælian* sets not downe expressly any proportion of the excess of the length above the depth, onely he saith, it must manifestly exceed the depth: We must take it then, that the excess of the length must beare the least threefold; for *strife* falls into the appellation of manifold. A *Macedonian* fourfold Phalanx may iustly challenge this name, being 1024 men in length, onely 16 in depth. And likewise a Phalangarch led severally and by it selfe, as having 256 men in length, but 16 in depth. The rest of the bodies of the fourfold Phalanx, till you come downe to a *Pentecostarchy*, albeit ranged by themselves, are likewise *Plagiophalanxes*, or broad-fronted battalies. A *Pentecostarchy* hath onely twice

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

twice so many in front, as in flanke (as 32 in front, 16 in flanke) and therefore cometh not under the name of a broad-fronted Phalanx. So that, let the battaile be as long as you list, having but the ordinary depth, it still is accounted a *Plagiophalanx*. When it is but twice so long in front as in flanke, it cannot deserve that name, but it is to be termed rather a Square of ground, because the flanke in a square of ground taketh vp as much ground as the front. To the *Battaille broad-fronted*, is next added the *Phalanx*, called

3. *Orthiophalanx*, or [Herle] which albeit it have the length and depth unequal, as hath the *Plagiophalanx*, or broad-fronted Phalanx, yet must the depth manifestly exceede the length, which is contrary in the *Plagiophalanx*. This saith *Ælian* proceedeth in

4. *A wing:* To proceede in a wing is to march on with a parcell or one body of the Army, namely with a certaine number of files (as with a *Tetrarchy*, *Taxis*, or *Syntagma*) and to follow with the rest in like manner, so that the whole Army holdeth no proportion of length or breadth to the depth. That which is called by *Ælian* *Orthiophalanx* is called by *Diadotus Siculus*, and by *Ælian*, *ῥωμαίος*, a deepe phalanx, because the forme of it ariseth out of the depth of the embattailing, as I have noted upon the seventh Chapter. This kinde of march the Greeke writers expresse by the words of leading *ῥωμαίος* and *ῥωμαίος*, that is, in a wing; whereas the other kinde with a large front (I mean the broad-fronted Phalanx) is said to be led *ῥωμαίος*, and *ῥωμαίος*, and *ῥωμαίος*, in a Phalanx, and *ῥωμαίος*, in extension of breadth. The words I recite to helpe them, who although they be skillfull in the Greeke tongue, yet are not so well acquainted with the Tactics, and may easily mistake, or not understand the signification, if they be not forewarned. But because I have before in my notes upon the seventh Chapter touched this matter, I will here vte an example, or two, onely to explaine, and to give light to both formes. *Ælian* in reporteth, that when *Alexander* was to passe the river *Gramicus*, on the further side whereof the *Persians* had embattailed themselves in a *broad-fronted phalanx* to hinder his passage, *Permenis* one of his eldest and best Commanders came vnto him, and gaue him this counsell; Sir, said hee, Consider the *Persians* are ready to encounter you on the other side; my opinion is, you cannot gaine the passage without exceeding danger: both because your phalanx cannot be led in front (that is, in a broad front) by reason of the many and sundry depths that are to be scene in the River, and of the height and steepnesse of the banks, as also for that the enemies horse ordered in a phalanx, will be ready to charge you, whilst we disorderly and wingwise (which is the weakest kinde of fight) endeavor to scamble up the banks. Thus *Ælian* vnting the words before recited, and noting the difference of both the formes. *Leo* hath the like passage, instructing his Generall how in the night to surprize an Enemy in his lodging. His words are these in effect; When you march, saith he, so the intent that no tumult or confusion of noise be heard, nor the breatching out of your battaile into a great length breeds error; and inequality in marching; and breuison cries and loud commands; arise, so that the Enemy may easily perceive the aceffe of your Armies; it behooveth you to march not in front, that is, in a large extension of breadth, but wingwise, that is to say, in a deepe forme of embattailing; as if one file should follow in the reare of another, observing still to maintain the depth, or thickness of the battaile. His meaning is: That in the night an Army ought

4. *Pentecostarchy*, which hath in it five men. The ordinary depth is 16.

5. *Ælian* c. 6. l. 10. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

6. A body of four files.

7. A body of 8 files.

8. A body of 16 files.

9. *Diadotus Siculus*, *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

10. *Ælian* c. 6. l. 10. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

11. *Ælian* c. 6. l. 10. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

12. *Leo* c. 7. l. 26. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

13. *Leo* c. 7. l. 26. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

14. *Leo* c. 7. l. 26. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

15. *Leo* c. 7. l. 26. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

16. *Leo* c. 7. l. 26. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

17. *Leo* c. 7. l. 26. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

18. *Leo* c. 7. l. 26. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

19. *Leo* c. 7. l. 26. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

20. *Leo* c. 7. l. 26. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

21. *Leo* c. 7. l. 26. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

22. *Leo* c. 7. l. 26. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

4. *Plagiophalanx*.

5. *Ælian* c. 6. l. 10. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577. *ῥωμαίος* 577.

6. Phalanx Macedonian consisting of 164 pikes men. Phalangarch is the fourth part of a Phalanx.

not to be led in a broad-fronted Phalange (because the places are wayes through which you are to march; are sometimes large, sometimes straight, sometimes rough, sometimes plaine, and so you cannot preferre an even front, but must change the forme, and disorder it) but in a *Herse* or *deepe Phalange*, which will fit all passages, and in the greatest inequality of way maintain the forme of the battaile entire. And so much of the signification of the words marching in a *Wing* and marching in a *Phalange*.

5. Every thing is called *Parametech*. It is to be observed, that there is a difference between *Parametech* and *Heterometech*: I thought good to note it, because Aelian in diuers places mentioneth both. *Parametech* is the figure, according to Aelian, wherein the length many times exceeds the depth; it may be *Heterometech*, albeit it be but twice as long as deepe. I am not ignorant that *Euclydes* nameth all four sided figures, that haue right angles, and vnequal sides, *Heterometech*. But Aelian, though hee apply *Heterometech* sometimes to the *front*, sometimes to the *flanke*, yet he giues no more then a double proportion either of *front* to *flanke*, or *flanke* to *front*.

6. *Orthion*. Albeit the word *Orthion* properly signifie things rising in a height, yet in military discourse it is applied to the dimension of the depth of a battell, and not of the length. Here a Phalange is termed *Orthia*, and in *Leo* in the place last by me cited, mention is made of *orthion*, a deepe embattailing: and in Xenophon *orthion*, a Company stretched out in depth; as in *Polyen* also, and *Arrian*, and *Appian*. *Polyen* hath besides, *orthion*, and *orthion*, for an army, that is cast into a great depth and into a narrow front. Therefore, as *Parametech* signifieth the length of the front; so *Orthion* signifies the depth of the flanks of any battell ordered, as is aforesaid. Thus much of the names of the two battels: It remains to shew the Use of them, and how one may be transformed into the other.

The *Plagiophalange*, or broad-fronted battell bringeth most hands to fight with conueniency, and therefore is accounted the better forme; and as neere as opportunity of ground would giue leaue, the ancient Generals principally affected, and fought to put this forme in v're: It hath the commodity to ouerfront the aduerser battell, and is safe it selfe from ouerfronting, vnlesse the Enemy bring a greater multitude then you haue to ouer-match your Army. The *Macedonian Phalange* was for the most part of this forme, as all the fields Alexander fought euidently declare; So ordered he his troops at *Granicus*, so at *Issus*, so at *Gaugamela*, so in other places, if the ground would serue. This Caution notwithstanding was obserued, that the depth held proportion with the length; otherwise the length profiteth not so much, as the thinnesse of the depth hurts, by giuing meanes to the enemy to breake through, and put the aduerser battell in a rout. I haue noted it before out of *Leo*.

The *Herse*, or deepe Phalange, was thought the weakest kinde to fight in. *Parmenio*, one of the chieftest Commanders Alexander had, distrusted it (as I haue shewed a little before). *Cyrus* the elder, in the embattailing of the Egyptians, derided it; yet cannot the forme of the broad-fronted Phalange be loeasily taken vp, but that necessity will sometime force the other. In straight places it hath beene often vsed: So *Darius* in the battaile of *Issus*, by reason of the straightnesse of ground, was forced to this forme: So *Bomilcar* the Carthaginian, was faine in a straight place to make a narrow front of his

phalange, and to extend it in depth. And *Acilius Glabris* the Roman Consul, in the streights of *Thermopylae* against *Antiochus*: and *P. Scipio* in *Spain* against the *Illyriges*. Therefore in large grounds the first forme is to be chosen, in narrow and rough places the other. The *Herse* is also fit for Marches, because in a March you are assured to meet with variety of ground; sometimes with woods, sometimes with bushes, sometimes with straight wayes, with riuers, with hills, with pits, with bridges, with ditches, and such like impediments, so that the front of your broad-fronted phalange must needs be dissolved; whereas no difficulty of wayes can hinder the passage of a *Herse*, the front whereof may be narrowed (according to the ground you march in) as you list. *Alexander* being to lead his Army against the *Thracians*, that had planted themselves in the mount *Emus*, was faine to narrow the front of his phalange, according to the way that led vp to the Mount: The same did *Agesilaus* passing through the streights of *Mantine*; the History is by me recited before in my notes vpon the 26 Chapter. *Panimenus* likewise leading his Army through *Phocis* toward *Thebes*, and finding that the Enemy had taken and possessed a place called *Philobaeton*, that had two straight leading toward it, one of which the Enemy held with a gar'd, casting his troops into a *Herse* *orthion*, making the bulke of his Army slender, and fit to march, shaped himselfe to the right hand, as though he meant to hold on to that passage. The Enemy therefore leaning the left hand straight, which they had in gar'd, ran with all speed to the right hand to stop his passage; but hee taking the opportunity, speeded hastily to the left, and conueyed his Army through without danger. Many like examples of *Herse* accommodated to straight wayes, where a broad-fronted Phalange cannot march, are to be found in Histories. The *Orthiophalange* or *Herse* was also much vsed in an ascent against a hill which the enemy possessed: and in this sence are *orthion* deepe Companies taken in the Greeke writers, especially when a whole Company is put into a file, and 3 or 4 or more files laid together to make an *Orthiophalange*, in which forme they vsed to mount vp against hills. Many examples be in their Histories of beating off Enemies from hills in this forme. *Cyrus* the elder vsed it against the *Chaldeans*; *Xenophon* against the *Carducians*; *Cheriphagus* in passing the riuer *Cernitres*, which riuer diuideth the mountains of the *Carducians* from *Armenia*: the *Gracians* against the *Messyngians*, that inhabited certain Mountaines which the *Gracians* were to mount. *Ptolomey* against the *Indians*, that embattelled themselves vpon a mountaine to resist the inuasion of *Alexander*. And a notable example of an Army ascending against a Mountaine, is described by *Xenophon*, in the fourth booke of the ascent of *Cyrus*; He relateth that the *Cholcians* had taken vp a high Mountaine, and there embattelled their Army to the intent to stop the passage of the *Grecians* in their returne out of *Persia*: The *Grecians* at the first ordered themselves into a Phalange, (abroad fronted battell) meaning in that forme to make their way. But afterwards the Chief-taines calling a Court, aduised vpon their best course of fighting: *Xenophon*'s opinion was, that laying aside the forme of a Phalange, it would be best to order themselves in Companies drawn out in file. For a Phalange, said he, will soon be broken, by reason of the inequality of the way, which in some parts of the Mountaine will be found easie enough, in other hard to ascend. And the soldiers will quickly be discouraged to see the Phalange disordered, in which they march: Besides, marching in a large front,

the enemies, that exceeds us in number, will over-front us, and use their multitude to most advantage: In a narrow front it will be no marvel to see our Phalange cut asunder with mistine weapons, and with men ordered in battle to charge us; whereby the whole Phalange will be distressed. Therefore, as I said, I hold it best to put the Armie into Companies stretched out in depth, giving to each Company such distance one from another, that our wings may over-reach the uttermost points of the enemies battaile: and let every company make choice of their fittest way for ascent. As for the spaces betwixt companies and company, it shall not be easie for the enemy to convey himselfe into them, all the companies on all sides (in case he enter) wrapping him in betwixt them: and if it chance that any company be distressed, the next company is to succour and aide it. *Xenoph* say, that one company attaine to the top of the hill, you may be assured, that no enemy will keepe his ground. This Counsell was assented to by all. When therefore every man had taken his place, and the Companies were laid out in their iust depth, the armed amounted to about 80 companies, in every of which were reckoned almost 100 men: The Targeteers and Archers were divided into three bodies, the first to march without the armed of the left wing, the second without the armed of the right, the third in the midst, every body consisting of well-nigh 600 men. After prayers made to the gods, the souldiers advanced, singing the *Pæan*; Then Cheriophus and Xenophon (leading the point of the Grecian battaile) and the Targeteers with them, who over-reached the enemies wings, baited on a pace, and the enemy perceiving it, extended their wings to meet them, and by that means were distressed some to the right, some to the left hand, leaving an empty space in the middle of their Phalange: the Targeteers armed after the Arcadian manner, led by *Aeschines* the Acharnan, seeing the enemies battaile disordered, and imagining them to fly, ranne forth with all speed, and were the first that gained the hill: they were scoured by the armed Arcadians, commanded by *Cleanor* the Orchomenian. When the enemy saw them come running on, they forsooke their ground, and began to shift for themselves, one way, another another: The Grecians having gained the Hill, encamped there. Hitherto *Xenophon*, out of whose practice the best adredresse against an enemy, that possesseth a Hill, over which our Army is to marche, may be learned: In a broad-fronted Phalange it is hard to proceede, both becaule of the inequality of the ground, which will easly breake the phalange, and disioynt all the parts thereof, and also for that the enemies weapons throwne from the higher ground will not lightly misse so great a body, and great stones, and other masse, tumbled downe, will beare downe and make ruine of whatsoever commeth in the way, impossible to misse in such an extension of length, and thronging of the Army: to lead in one and a continued Horse is no lesse dangerous: A few men, and those onely in front, shall come to fight against a multitude of enemies, who will over-front and charge them on all sides. *Xenophons* Counsell then is to make diuers bodies, and to order them so severed in front and flanke, that they may over-front the enemy, and not be parted asunder with the vneuenesse of the ascent, nor yet proue too faire a marke for the enemies weapons. The Bodies are declared to be Companies each of 100 men; these fo divided one from another in distance likewise, that the uttermost bodies on both sides might be able to over-reach the points of the enemies wings, and to make choice of the best Ascent toward the height of the hill. Further, the forme of ordering the bodies is set downe, They were stretched out in depth (*ἐν πλάτει ἀνωγύρως*) Orthios Iochos is here taken for a Company ordered in one file; and it signifies as much:

as *Xenophon* elsewhere: and in the same sense *Thucydides* vseth the phrase of placing ships one in a direct line after another *ἐν πλάτει ἀνωγύρως*, which his followers interpreteth *πλάτεις, ἐν πλάτει ἀνωγύρως*, having one after another. And *Polybius* likewise of Ships hath the same phrase, *ἐν πλάτει ἀνωγύρως*, to be placed one after another; and in the same place *ἐν πλάτει ἀνωγύρως*. Yet this passage out of *Xenophon*, where he mentioneth *ἐν πλάτει ἀνωγύρως*, hath a diuers signification from the common usage of *ἐν πλάτει ἀνωγύρως* amongst other Grecians. It agreeth, in that, they led their Companies stretched out in file; it differeth, in that *Xenophons* files were placed in distance one from another, and had all an equal front in the manner of a *ῥαγίος phalange*, where in the other examples they were ioyned, to the end to make an *orthiophalange*; and in severall bodies to follow one another. I deny not that *ἐν πλάτει ἀνωγύρως* are otherwise taken in the wars of the Romans described by the Grecians.

So *Scipio* ordering his battell against *Hannibal* in the fight of *Africa*, is *Appian* mightily reported by *Appian* to have disposed his Army into *Maniples*, distributed into three kinde of bodies, the *Maniple* to stand *ἐν πλάτει ἀνωγύρως*, one directly after another. How they stood *Polybius* shewes, describing the same battaile: *ἐν πλάτει ἀνωγύρως*. He saith, that *Scipio* ordered the *Hastati* and their ensignes first of all the rest, and in front, and gave intervals to their *maniples*; behind them the *Principes*, not against the intervals of the *Hastati*, as the Roman manner was, but behind them in a right line (because of the multitude of the Enemies Elephants:) and lastly, the *Triarii*. On the wing of the left flanke he ranged *C. Celerus* with the Italian Horse under him: on the right *Massaniila*, and all the *Numidian* Horse under him: in the intervals of the first Ensignes (that is, of the *Hastati*) he filled with the bodies of light armed, commanding them first to undertake the fight; and in case they were not able to withstand the assault of the enemy, or of the Elephants, he willed them to retire; some, that could prevent the rest with spears, through the direct intervals of the *maniples* to the reare of the army; other, that were in a manner surprised, to the flanks, were the Ensignes. This ordering of *Maniples* one directly after another, so termed and described by *Polybius*, *Appian* calleth *ἐν πλάτει ἀνωγύρως*; which notwithstanding; if truly examined, cannot according to the Grecian practice come within the compass of that name. For the Grecians, as I said, drew their Companies severally each into a file; and laying foure, or five, or six, or more of them together, made a body, the depth whereof much exceeded the length, or breadth, the front being of 4, 5, or 6 men in ranke, the depth of 100, whereas the Romans, as appeareth by *Polybius*, kept their ordinary manner of embattailing, saving that they placed their principles not against the intervals of the *Hastati*, as their custom was, but directly behind the *Maniples* of the *Hastati*, to the end the Elephants of the Carthaginians might have an empty and void lane, as it were, to passe through their whole Army: As for the Roman *Maniples* they consisted of two parts ioyned together, which they called *Ordines*, and every *Ordo* contained 60 men, commanded by a Captaine, so that the *Maniple* had in it 120 men and two Captaines or Centurions: These 120 men being digested into files, containing 10 men a peece (for that was the length of file, as I the depth of the *Maniple*) make 12 files, which stood one by another ranged in front, not stretched one after another in depth: But because the *Maniples* of the *Hastati* principles, and the *Triarii*; stood directly one after another; therefore *Appian* called them

The Tactics of Aelian, or

The bringing up
was the last drill.

another in a right line, and by that meanes had 100 in *depth*, and but one in *front*. To bring it therefore to convenient *length* from this *depth*, the Capitaine commanded the first *file leader* to make *Alte*, or to stand, and the second *file leader* with his *file* to advance, and to *fleeue* vp on the left hand and to *front* with the first *file leader*, and so both *files* to stand *even fronted* in open order. The like he commanded the third and fourth *file* to doe; so that the four *files* being laid one to another, and *fronting* equally, the *front* or *length* of the body had foure men, the *depth* 24. Then, because he held this *depth* disproportionable to the *length*, in so small a body, he againe enlarged the *front* by doubling, commanding the *half file* to double their *front*. The *Decadarch* hereupon marched vp to the *front* and *ranked* with the *file leaders*, and the *half files* following them, *ranked* with the *front-half files* man to man. Now was the *front* eight in *length*, the *flanke* or *depth* twelue. To enlarge againe the *front*, and to make the *length* exceede the *depth*, he commanded the *quarter-files* to double the *front*: hereupon the *Pempedarch*s advanced marching vp with their *quarter files* after them, till they *fronted* with the *file leaders* and *Decadarch*s, and each man of the *quarter files* *ranked* with the rest, so that the *front* came to be of 16 men in *length*, the *flanke* six men in *depth*, and each man in *rank* had a foot and halfe distance, in *file* six foot. And thus the Company from one *file*, as it were from an *Orthiophalange* or *Herfe*, was formed into a long body somewhat resembling a *plagiophalange* or broad-fronted battaile. To reduce it againe to an *Orthiophalange* or *Herfe*, the Capitaine at the entry into the Tent (where the whole Company was lodged together) first directed the first *file* to march out, namely by the *file leader* with his *file*, then the first *Pempedarch* with his *file*, after him the *Decadarch* with his *file*, lastly the second *Pempedarch* with his *file*; which drawing out of the Officers one after another in *depth*, with the parts of the *file* Commanded by them, immediately brought the *file* to the iust *depth* of 24. This being done, the second *file* followed the first in like order, and the third the second, & last of all came the fourth: and this was the manner of changing one forme into another: and albeit the example be but of a Company, yet is the reason all one in a *Phalange* or battaile; for as a company is compacted of many *files*, so is a *phalange* of diuers companies; and as one *file*, in the example before, was led after another *filewise*, so is, or may one company or other body be led after another, making thereby an *Orthiophalange* or *Herfe*: and as one *file* advanced to front with another to the intent to alter the forme of the *Orthiophalange*, to must the bodies or companies *fleeue* vp one by another to make a *plagiophalange* or broad-fronted battaile, yet want there not Examples in the Greeke History of turning the *Orthiophalange* or *Herfe* into a *plagiophalange* or broad fronted battaile, and by consequence the *plagiophalange* into an *Orthiophalange*. *Cherisophus* in the returne of the 10000 Grecians, that followed *Cyrus* the younger into Persia, had the leading of the Vant-gard all the way. * He in his march in Armenia perceiving the *Chalybes*, *Tauchians* and *Phasians* had taken certaine mountains, over which the Grecians were to passe, made alte some 30 furlongs before he came to the Enemy, lest encountering with the enemy, he should fight with his army being led in a wing or *Orthiophalange*: He commanded therefore the Capitaines that followed him with their companies, every one after another to *fleeue* vp their companies by his, so the intent to cast the army into a *plagiophalange* or broad fronted battaile. When the reare Commanders were come vp, he called a counsell to advise of the best

* Xenoph. de rep. 4.334. d.

1. 334. d.

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

course proceeding. Here is the order of the Grecians march expressed to be in a *Herfe* or *Orthiophalange*, which consisted of many companies one following another; and likewise the manner of transfiguring the *Herfe* into a broad fronted *phalange*, viz. the Capitaines one after another *fleeuing* vp their companies by *Cherisophus* his company on the left hand, and making an equall *front* with him. And yet this example containeth no more, then the *fleeuing* vp of the Companies upon one flanke. *Cherisophus* first made a Stand with his company, hauing the vant; the following Capitaines *fleeued* vp their companies on his left hand, as the *files* did one after another in the other example. * Alexander vied another kinde of *fleeuing* a little before he fought the battell of Issus; For, causing the vant-gard first to stand, he commanded the rest of the foot to march vp to the front of the vant-gard on either flanke. The words lye thus in *Arrian*. Alexander hauing by midnight gained the *Streights* of Cilicia, setting out a *streight watch* upon the rocks, rested, and refreshed his army till morning: by day-breake he descended from the *streights* in the ordinary way, and as long as the passage was narrow, he led in a wing; afterwards the mountaines opening a greater distance, he enlarged his wing into a *phalange* by little and little still *fleeuing* vp the armed, one body after another to the front; on the right hand toward the mountaines, on the left hand toward the Sea. The *Herfe* all this while marched after the foot; but coming to ground of larger capacity, they were ordered on the wings. This manner of working to make a *phalange* out of *Herfe*, was by drawing the following companies vp on both flanks, on the right toward the mountaines, on the left toward the sea; so that it differeth from the other forme wherein the Companies were *fleeued* but vpon one hand. A third way of making a *Plagiophalange* of a *Herfe*, I finde in *Polybius*, *Machanidas* the *Lacedemonian* * *Polyb. l. 2. c. 32. d.* Tyrant (saith he) being to fight with *Philopomen* the *Achaean* Generall, who had slain his army into a broad fronted *phalange*, made semblance at first, as though he meant in a *Herfe* to charge the right wing of the Enemies battaile; but approaching nearer at a convenient distance, he brake off the hinder part of the *Herfe*, and facing it to the right hand marched out, and led it out in *length*, and ioyned it in equall front with his right wing, thereby equalling the left wing of the Acheans. In this manner of transforming the *Herfe* into broad fronted *phalange*, the companies or bodies follow not one another, to *fleeue* vp to the front, but halfe the *Plagiophalange* is broken off at once (the reare halfe) and facing to the right or left hand, is led vp and ioyned in an euen front with the other halfe, not vnlike to our *vagaine* exercise, when we command our middle men with their *half files* to face to the right or left hand, and marching out to double the front of our battaile. Thus much may suffice for the names, use and reduction of one of these two *Phalanges* to another: The third *Phalange* mentioned in this Chapter followeth.

7 The *Phalange Loxe*.] There are two kinds of *Loxes*, or vneuen fronted *Phalanges*: The front of one is figured in a continued right line stretched out bias-wise thus: The other hath as it were two fronts, formed out of two feuerall parts of the *Phalange*; the one advancing against the Enemy to begin the fight, the other staying behinde, and keeping the first ground, being ordered without the flanke of the first, that vpon occasion it may likewise advance, and ioynne, or else retire from the Enemy, and giue backe; the figure shewes the shape of it: the last hath bin vied by great Generals

nerals as a *forme of advantage in fight*. The first need to win a passage, as I take it, over a river, or such like (where the broad-fronted *Phalange* could not pass) and to bring the Army to a ground, where it might be ordered in better forme for fight. I will give one Example (for I read not many) of the first: *⁠ Alexander having conuied his armie ouer Hellespont, and enired into Phrygia, came as farre as the river Granicus. Three Lieutenant of Daries with 20000. Horse, and well nigh as many foot, had embattaild themselves on the other side of theriver to hinder his passage. The river was full of depths and shallows, some what dangerous to enter, and the banks on the further side high, rough, and steep; besides, the Enemy was ready with horse cast into a long or broad-fronted phalange, and with flocks of foot to beat him backe, that should offer to clymbe the banks. Alexander being refused to passe over, first ordered his troopes in a broad-fronted phalange. The right wing he commanded himselfe, and gave the command of the left to Parmenio; then putting the Scout before with the Pæonians into the river, and after them a Phalangary of foot led by Amyntas the sonne of Arrabius, and then Proxymy the sonne of Phillip, who commanded the troope of Socrates, which troope had the Vanguard of all the horse that day, himselfe with the right wing enured the river (the Trumpets sounding, and the Army giving a shout) extending full his battail himselfe against the Stream (as two valiant meeting) to the end the Persians might not fall upon him, as he led in a wing, but himselfe, as much as was possible, might come to some with them, having the front of his phalange extended in length. The Persians cast [⁠] Darts from the high ground against the troopes of Amyntas and of Socrates, as they approached to the further banks, and some of them, where the ground was more even, defended to the brinke of the river; so there was thrusting and shoddering of Horsemén, some to ascend out of the river, some to hinder the others. The Persians let flye many a dart, the Macedonians fought with spears: The first Macedonians that came to hands with the Persians, were cut a peece fighting valiantly, save only those that retired unto Alexander, who was now neere advanced with the right wing. He himselfe first of all charged the Persians, where the principal strength of the whole body of their horse and the Generals of the field stood; about him was a fierce fight, and in the meane time one troope after another passed easily over the river. This passage of the History is long, and therefore I forbear to recite the rest, only I add, that after a long fight the Persians were forced to flye, and the victory was united with Alexander. And this, that I have recited, may serve to shew the use of this kinde of *Lexæ-phalange*, which was practised by Alexander to no other end, then to *gaine the passage of the river*; for in this forme hee would never have fought, nor is there any president for it out of his batrels ranged vnder even ground, where he might have chosen the forme he liked best; but hee he was to get over a river, the enemy held the banks on the other side with 20000. Horse ordered in a broad phalange; the river was full of shallows and depths, and thereby hardly passable; the banks on the other side deepe and broken, and hard to ascend: Parmenio dissuaded him to lead in a wing or horse, and himselfe had no great fancie to adventure in that forme. In a broad-fronted phalange he could not, which must needs have beene broken by the unequal footing in the bottome of the river? What did hee then? hee thought best to chooe a passable foord, and through it to put over the right wing of his Army slope-wise toward the further bank, whither when they came, they should proceed against the stream; that the front being ill extended, and the rest coming vp and ioyning, he might front toward and charge*

charge the Enemy *phalange-wise*. And that this was his meaning is plain by *⁠ Ptolemy*, who rehearsing the same Stratagem, saith, that Alexander led his Army in that forme along the further bank to the end to over-front the Bænesies Horse-battaille: So that this kinde of *Lexæ* or *uneven-fronted Phalange* is no forme to fight in, as I conceive, but hath bene sometimes taken up, as a meanes to attaine to a ground fit for a better forme; as Alexander changed it as soone as he came to the banks of the river on the other side.

The other (as I said) great Generals have used, and by it have gained great victories. I will adde an example or two, whereby the use of it may more clearly appeare: Epaminondas the Theban in a field against the Lacedæmonians, gained a famous victory by this forme: *⁠ Diadotus Siculus* writeth thus, The Bæotians also being ready to fight, the battails on both sides were fashioned in this order: Amongst the Lacedæmonians the Chiefestaines of the race of Hercules had the wings (viz. Cleombrotus the King, and Archidamus, who was the sonne of Agæfilaus, the other King.) On the Bæotian side Epaminondas using a peculiar and choice kinde of embattailing, obtained a renowned victory by his martiall skill: For selecting the best men out of all his troopes, he opposed them against one of the Enemies wings, himselfe resoluing in his owne person to try the fortune of the day with them. Against the other wing he set the weakest commanding them to fight retyring, and to give ground by little and little, when the Enemy came on to charge; framing therefore an uneven-fronted Phalange, he determined to hazard the fight with that wing, which consisted of his chosen Soldiers. The Trumpets sounded, and the Armies gave a shout, and the Lacedæmonians figuring a halfe Moone thrust out both their wings of pur pose to enuiron the Bæotians, who with one of their wings retired, with the other ran forth to ioyne with the Enemy: after ioyning, the Victorie being a good while doubtfull thorough the valour of both parties, notwithstanding Epaminondas by the manhood of his people, and the thicknesse of his battaille, beating the better, many of the Lacedæmonians fell; for they were not able to endure the weight of the resolution of those chosen men, yet so long as Cleombrotus lived, and had many to ioyne targets for his defence, and ready to dye before him, the issue of the victory was uncerteine: But after he had cast himselfe into all kinde of dangers, and yet could not force the Enemy to retire, fighting heroically he was borne to ground with many wounds, and so ended his daies: There arose a flocking and concourse about his body, and multitudes of dead men were heaped one upon another. That wing, being now without a Commander, was hardly laid to by Epaminondas, and first with plaine force somewhat disordered. The Lacedæmonians on the other side, brauely bazzarding for their King, recovered his dead body, but could not attaine to the victory; it also the selected band, albeit provoked by the vertue and exhortation of Epaminondas, it used extraordinary valour, yet with much adoe did it force the battaille of the Lacedæmonians, who first giving backe, somewhat disordered themselves; at last many falling, and no man being to command them, the whole armie made it selfe to fight. Epaminondas his soldiers followed the chase, slew many, tooketh themselves Masters of the field, and carried away a notable and famous victory. Their honour was the more, because they fought with the most valiant men of all the Grecians, and were come them being many more in number then themselves; contrary to all men expectation; but of all other Epaminondas was the man that merited most praise, who by his owne valour and martiall skill, won a battaille against the Generals of Greece, which to that day were held invincible. This Testimony of the *Lexæ-phalange* is somewhat long, but the worthinesse of the circumstances will, I hope, beare me

⁠ Ptolemy 4. 5. 16.

⁠ Diad. Sic. 1. 5.

⁠ The Lacedæmonians had by Archidamus Law two Kings at once.

⁠ Ptolemy 4. 5. 16.

⁠ Ptolemy 4. 5. 16.

⁠ The Bæotians were so deepe, the Lacedæmonians 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

me out to recite it, wherein the forme agreeable to Aelian is first to be noted, as advancing one wing against the Enemy, and holding off the other; albeit it goes a little further then Aelian prescribeth, in that the wing kept off, stood not still, waiting time to come forward, but when the Enemy came vp, ioyned with him, gaining ground of purpose to distract his phalange, and on that side to buse him with a flow fight, lest happily he might giue vpon the aduerser flanke of Epaminondas and succour his owne partie that already was in fight. It sheweth besides, the advantage of Military skill; for the Lacedaemians, Masters of Armes at that day in Greece, hauing fashioned a halfe Moore, and imagining in that forme to inclose the small number of the Boeotians, and to charge them on euery side, Epaminondas with his Laxe Phalange so played the front of their wings, that the rest of the halfe Moore, being neuer able to strike stroke, became vnprofitable: It shewes further what kinde of battaile is fittest to encounter the halfe moore: Lastly, it hath the reason and vse of the Laxe phalange; that is, to charge one of the Enemies wings with the best and strongest part of our forces, and at the same instant to annoy him with the other wing, thereby to embarre him from giuing aide to his people that were in fight. ^c Alexander vied this forme at Gangamela, beginning the fight and victory with his right wing, and after with his victorious troopes succouring his left wing, that was in danger to be routed by the Persian. The like forme with the like successe was vied by ^b Antigonus against Eumenes; it is a battaile worth the rehearsing, but I haue beene long in the Example of Epaminondas, and therefore referre the Reader to the quotation. Demetrius framed the like battaile against Ptolemy and Seleucus, albeit he were frustrated of his hopes in the enemy by the foresight of Ptolemy, who opposed his choicest troopes against that wing of Demetrius, which was first to vnder-take the charge. Hitherto of these three formes of Phalanges, see the figures, in which albeit the two first be portrayed without intervals, yet you must in the broad-fronted Phalange vnderstand the three intervals vsuall in the Macedonian squarefold Phalange: and in the horse the spaces betwixt the reare of the bodies that lead, and of the front of those that follow.

Parenbole, Protaxis, Epitaxis, Proflaxis, Entaxis, and Hypotaxis.

CHAP. XXXI.

- (1) **Parenbole**, or *infusion*, is, when Souldiers being placed in a body, we take some of the hindmost and order them within the distances of the first, drawing them vp in an equall front.
- (2) **Protaxis**, or *forefronting*, is, when we place the light-armed before the front of the Armed, and make them fore-leaders as the file-leaders are: (3) When we order the light armed behind, it is called **Epitaxis**, as it were an after-placing. (4) **Proflaxis**, or *adjoining*, is, when to both flanks of the battell, or to one flanke, some of the hindmost are added, the front of them which are added lying even with the front of the battell. This addition is called **Proflaxis**. (5) **Entaxis** or *infusion*, is, when it seemeth good to set the light Armed within the spaces of the Phalange, man to man. (6) **Hypotaxis** or *double-winging*, is, when a man bestoweth the light armed on the wings of the phalange, so that the whole figure resembleth a threefold gate or doore.

This

NOTES.

THIS Chapter sheweth the enlarging of a Phalange or battell; by diuers placings partly of the armed, partly of the light-armed. It is not hard to be vnderstood; the rather because most of the alterations here mentioned are spoken of heretofore either in Aelian, or in my notes: Sixe formes are here set downe, two by changing the place of some of the Armed, the other four by changing the place of the light-armed, the armed are altered by ^a Parenbole or ^b Protaxis, the light armed by ^c Protaxis, ^d Epitaxis, ^e Entaxis, and ^f Hypotaxis; what the signification of each is shall be shewed in the notes following.

1. **Parenbole**.] This must alwayes be of armed, which are taken from the reare of the Armed, and inferted betwixt the files of the front: of this kinde is the doubling of the front by middle men with their halfe files, whercof Aelian hath spoken in the 29 Chapter, see the figure there.

2. **Protaxis** or *fore-fronting*.] I haue shewed before in the notes vpon the seventh Chapter, that the light-armed were diuersly placed in the front, in the reare, on the wings, within the battell; when they are placed before, it is called Protaxis, see the figure here: ^a Ptolemy and Seleucus being to fight against Demetrius, who had many Elephants, placed the light armed before, to the intent to wound the Elephants and turne them away from their Phalange: so Alexander, so Darius, at the battaile of Issus, placed darters and singers before the fronts of their phalange: they serue greatly to annoy the Enemy being so placed, especially being not charged with horse or pikes; if they be charged with either, they are to retire into the intervals of their owne battaile of pikes: See Onosander cited by me in my notes vpon the 7 Chapter of this Booke.

3. **Epitaxis**.] Ordering of the light-armed behind was the vsuall manner of the Macedonian Embattelling, from whence they drew them at pleasure to any place of seruise: see the 7 Chapter.

4. **Proflaxis**.] It is, when armed are taken from behind and laid to one or both flanks of the battell fronting even with the front thereof, which is a doubling of ranks, as is before shewed, done when the hinder halfe files diuide themselves, march out and front with the fileleaders, or else march out entirely without diuision.

Entaxis. Incision is alwayes of the light armed into the spaces of the armed. It is all one with parenbasis, another Greeke word vied in the same sense.

6. **Hypotaxis**.] Placing of the light armed on the wings was much vied in ancient time, as the manner is also at this day: but Aelian would haue them so placed, that the enmity of them should make a hollow front in the battaile: ^a Partius taketh Hypotaxis to be the placing of the light armed in the reare, which seemeth to be a mistaking, both because the placing of them in the reare is in this Chapter called Epitaxis, and also because there being foure manners of ordering the light-armed, one in the front, another in the reare, the third within the body of the Phalange man to man, the fourth in the wings: if this ordering should be vnderstood to be behinde the Phalange, there would be two kinds of placing of the light armed in the reare, and none

^a Doubling the front by middle men.

^b Adjoining.

^c Forefronting.

^d Placing before.

^e Placing betweene.

^f Placing on the wings.

^a Diod Sic. lib. 7. 17. 4.

^b Diod Sic. lib. 19. 2.

^c Diod Sic. lib. 19. 2.

^d Diod Sic. lib. 19. 2.

The Tactics of *Ælian*, or

of ordering them in the *flanks*: Besides, when *Ælian* saith, they are placed *ut in alapis* the *quadrato*, vnder the *wings* of the battell, he sufficiently expresth himselfe, the *flanks* of the battaile on both sides being the vttermost parts of the *wings*.

The Use, and aduantage of these exercises of Armes.

CHAP. XXXIV.

THese precepts of turning about of faces, of wheeling, and double wheeling of the battaile, and of reducing it to the first posture, are of great vfe in (1) sodaine approaches of the Enemy, whether he shew himselfe on the right or left hand, or in the reare of our march. The like may be said of Counter-marches, of which the Macedonians are held to be the inuenters of the Macedonian, the Lacedemonians of the Lacedemonian, from whom the Appellations are accordingly drawne. The Histories witnesseth, that Phillip (who much enlarged the Macedonian Kingdome, and ouer-came the Grecians in a battaile at Cherones, and made himselfe Generall of Grecia) and likewise his Sonne Alexander, who in short time conquered all Asia, made small account of the Macedonian counter-march, vnlesse necessity forced it; and that by vfe of the Lacedemonian, they both became victorious ouer their enemies. For the Macedonian counter-march, the Enemy falling vpon the reare, is cause of great disorder, in as much as the hindermost marching vp to the front, and making shew of running away, it more encourageth and emboldeneth the Enemy to fall on, for feare and pursuit of the Enemy is ordinarily incident to this Counter-march: but the Lacedemonian counter-march is of contrary effect; for when the Enemy shewes himselfe in the reare, the file-leaders with their followers brauely aduancing, and opposing themselves, it striketh no small feare and terror into their mindes.

NOTES.

ALL the four motions of a battaile; Facing, Countermarching, Doubling, and Wheeling, are before handled: In this Chapter *Ælian* briefly rehearseth the vfe of them, especially in

1. Sodaine approaches of the Enemy. If the Enemy come sodainely vpon vs, he must direct himselfe either against our front, or our reare, or our flanks. If against our front, we neede no other motion then that whereby we may strengthen our front, which is usually done by doubling of ranks; we march for the most part in a *helfe*, in which forme there cannot come many hands to fight: and that is the reason why it is accounted the weakest forme to ioyne with the Enemy. Doubling of ranks helpeth that defect, and bringeth as many hands to fight, as the proportion of forces will allow: If against the reare, and time strenght you not, and your battell be in open order, you haue the vfe of counter-march, which bringeth the best hands to fight, for the File-leaders are esteemed the flower of the Army: your battaile being in order or close order, you are to wheele it about to your right or left hand,

* Against the front.

b Doubling of ranks.

c Against the reare.

d Counter-march.

e Wheeling.

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hand, and so to oppose the front against the Enemy. But in both these motions the caution of *Ælian* is, that the Enemy surprize you not whilst you are in the action of counter-march or wheeling, lest taking his aduantage, he charge you being in disorder. Therefore if he come so neere, that you haue no liberty to counter-march or wheele, your only refuge is to face about to the right or left hand, for so he shall not be able to giue vpon your backe. If the enemy appeare vpon any flanke, counter-march of the Front will not auail, much lesse doubling against the flanke of ranks, or files, but you must either wheele your Front to the flanke, or if you haue not time enough fo to doe, you are to face your battell to that hand: The vfe of these motions hath been handled in their severall Chapters more at large.

Of the Signes of Direction which are to be giuen to the Army, and of their severall kinds.

CHAP. XXXV.

(1) We are to acquaint our Forces both Foot and Horse, perfectly with the (2) voice, and perfectly with (3) visible signes, that whatsoeuer is fitting, may be executed and done, as occasion shall require. (4) Some things also are to be denounced by the Trumpet: for to all directions will be fully accomplished, and sort to a desired effect. (5) The signes therefore which are delivered by voice, are most euident and cleere if they haue no impediment. (6) But the most certaine and least tumultuous signes are such as are presented to the eye: if they be not obscured. The voice sometime cannot bee heard by reason of the clashing of Armour, or trampling or neying of Horses, or tumult of carriage, or noise and confused sound of the multitude. The visible signes also become many waies vncertaine, by thicknesse of ayre, by dust, by raine, or snow, or sunshine, or else through ground that is vneuen or full of trees, or of turnings. And sometimes it will not be easie to find out signes for all vses, occasions and fancies presenting new matter, to which a man is not accustomed: yet can it not fo fall out, that either by voice, or by signall, we should not giue sure and certaine direction.

NOTES.

THE ordinary motions in a Phalange are all represented by *Ælian*. Now cometh hee to speake of Signes, which direct, and are means effecting all these motions, and without which the Army is no Army, but remains a body vngovernable, and may aptly be resembled to a Shippe that hath no rudder: For as a Ship in a tempest is driuen by all winde, tossed by waues, throwne euery way vpon rocks, vpon sands, vpon dangerous shoares, that is not guided by the Master, who standeth and moueth at the helme, So an Army not directed by signes, and forecalt of the General is carried away through ignorance and violence of affection, sometimes of anger, sometimes of feare, sometimes of reuenge, and other vnbridled desires, and breaketh or else fall

The Tactics of Ælian, or

ferth into confusion through disorder, working little against the enemy, nay rather giving him means of a certain victory. The Shippe is like the Army, the General like the Master, the words of Direction like the Rudder, guiding all and every motion of the Army. For the Army being a body of many heads, whereof every one hath a severall sense, hangeth together not by the naturall coherence and knitting of one member to another, but by artificiall ioyning of man to man, file to file, body to body, whereby it is gathered together into one Masse, and figured into many members and ioynts, and ruled not by the reason and judgement of it selfe, but by the reason and understanding of the Generall. So that no man is to demand why this or that is commanded, but is to execute it alone for *this Cause, because it is commanded*. The Generall then being to Command, and direct the actions of the whole Army, ought to finde out means to speake and discourse with them all at once, in such a language, as it were, that all may understand at once. For the occurrence of warre being oftentimes sudden, and once slippt by, irrecoverable, require sudden means of speedy direction, that nothing fall out for vnlooked for, but the Army may have notice how to prevent and avoid, or else to turne it to their most advantage; the rather because in warre, safety and life come in question, in losse of which, no pardon of negligence can be admitted. And seeing there are two principall fences of aduertisement, the *ear* the one, the other the *eye*, the *ear* to heare all manner of sounds, the *eye* to discern all manner of colours and shapcs, it hath been the witty inuentions for ancient Generalls, to informe their Armies by the one, and by the other, by the *eye* when there was no vse of the *ear*; by the *ear* when the *eye* could not be informed. The true obseruation and vse of these signes auaille much in warre.

* Veget. l. 3. c. 5.

b Polyb. l. 9.
555. B.

Vegetius saith, that nothing profiteth more to victory, then to obey the admonition of signes. Former experience hath taught, that the neglect or error of signes, hath brought in great inconueniences, and quite ouerthrowne the enterprises in hand. *Polybius* remembereth it in *Aratus* the elder, a Generall of the Achæans. *Cratus*, saith hee, the Generall of the Achæans, seeking to get the Cynethian City by a plot, agreed with those of his party within the Citie, upon a certain time to come by night to the riuier that runneth by Cynethic, there refreshing and staying his Army a while, and that those within taking their time, should send about midday out of the gate secretly one of their companions, to stand in a cloake by a hill appointed, which was not farre from the Citie, to giue aduertisement to *Aratus* to march on; and that the rest about that time should lay hands upon the Polemarches, (that vsed to guard the gates) while they reposd themselves and slept: And that this done, the Achæans should with all speed hasten to the gates, out of their ambush. These things concluded, and the time approaching, *Aratus* came accordingly, and hiding himselfe by the riuier, awaited the signall: About the fifth houre, one of the Citie an owner of the pe, that bore extraordinary fine wooll, & were usually feeding about the Citie, came out of the City gate in a cloake, desirous to speake with the shepheard about some priuate business of his owne, and standing upon the same hill, looked round about for the shepheard. *Aratus* and his folke imagining this to be the expected signall, ran in all hast toward the Citie; but because nothing was ready within, the gates were quickly shut, and not only *Aratus* missed of his purpose, but the Citizens also that conspired with him, fell into great misfortunes, being taken with the manner, and presently brought forth and put to death. This may be an example of error and misprision of the sign: Of the neglect, and likewise of the like error and misprision, there is a notable example

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example in *Cæsar*s Commentaries in the siege of *Alexia*, Where *Cæsar* hauing won the Enemies campe, lying upon a hill neere the Towne, showed a retreat to his army that was in sight: the Ensignes of the tenth legion made a stand, but the Souldiers of the other legions not hearing the sound of the trumpet, by reason of a valley, beyond which they were, were yet held backe by the Tribunes and Legats, as *Cæsar* had giuen direction. Notwithstanding, being passed up with the hope of a speedy victory, and with the sight of the Enemy, and their happy battailes of former times, thinking nothing so hard that it might not be achieved by their valour, they made no end of their chace, till they came neere to the Wall, and Gates of the Towne; and some of them entering at a gate, other some clymbing up the wall, imagined they had gotten possession of the towne. In the meane time the Enemies forsooke, who were busie in fortifying without on the other side of the towne, being acquainted herewith by mesage, sent their horse before, and followed after themselves, and in great numbers charged the Romans: The fight was hard, the enemy trusting to the advantage of the place and to their number, the Romans to their valour, when on the sudden were scene on the open side of the Romans the Heduan Horse who served in *Cæsar*s Armie, and were by him sent on the right hand to get up the hill another way: they by likeness of their armour put *Cæsar*s souldiers in a great feare. And although it might easily be discerned, that their left shoulder was unarmed, which was the signe of such as were friends, yet the Romans conceived them to be enemies, and to use that device onely to ouer-reach and entrap them. Being oppressed on all hands, and 400 Centurions slaine, they were beaten from their ground with the losse of few lesse then 700 men. *Cæsar*s Souldiers here offended in both kindes in the neglect of their Generalls Command, which he gaue by signe, and in mistaking the signe, which was vssual for the Heduan to be knowne by. *Cæsar*s iudgement of these two fautes appeareth in his speech, which he made to his Army presently upon the losse, in which he reprehended their rashnesse, in that they would needs take upon them to iudge how farre they were to proceede, and neither be held in with the signe of retreat, that was giuen, nor yet be commanded by the Tribunes and Legats. He shewed of what force the disadvantage of ground was, and what his opinion was before this time at *Auaricum*, where surprising the Enemy without a Generall and Horse, he let an assured victory slip out of his hand, because he would not hazard, no not a small losse in fight upon inequality of ground. As much as he admired their braue mindes and resolution, whom neither the fortifications of the Enemies Campe, nor the height of the Mountaine, nor the wall of the Towne could hold backe; so much he reprehended their presumption and arrogancy, in that about the victory and issue of things, they preferred their owne conceits before the opinion of their Generall: For his part he required aswell modesty and continencie in a Souldier, as valour and magnanimity.

So *Cæsar* insinuating that obedience and heedfulnessse were two principall vertues in a Souldier; by the one to be ready at all commands, by the other to execute with discretion what was commanded: by want of heedfulnessse they perceived not the signe of retreat which was proposed vnto them, and mistooke the marke of the Heduan, whom they esteemed for their foes; by want of obedience to their Officers, they incurred the danger and losse which they sustained: diligent care therefore is to be had of signes, by which the minde of the Generall in all directions is declared, and as it were set before the eyes of the whole Army.

The Inuentors of the Signes of Warre were many. The Ensigne was inuented by the Egyptians, as I haue shewed in my notes vpon the 9 chap. of this Booke,

* Cæsar de bell.
Gall. l. 9. 556.

* Three were 60
Centurions in a
Roman Legion.

* *Plus universel*
lib. 7. c. 57.

The Traditions of Aelian, or

Booke, where also the reason of the invention is given: The order of an Army, the giving of the *signe*, the *watch*, the *watchword* was invented by Palamedes, the *trumpet* by Terrence the Sonne of Hercules.

To give *signes* to an Armie pertaineth, as I have shewed, to him that is the Governour thereof, that is, to the Generall. The manner how *signes* were by him given, appeareth in * *Onofander*, I will recite his words: *Let all signes, quoth he, (he meaning by voyce) and by signes be delivered to the Officers of the Armie; in as much as for a Generall to goe up and downe, and proclaime the signe to all, is the part of an unwise and unexperienced man, and both time is lost in denouncing it; and it is often a cause of tumult, whilst every man asketh what the signe is. Besides, one addeth something to the Generals words, another diminisheth them through ignorance.* * *Leo* hath almost the same wordes, at least the same fence, and as I take it, hee borroweth them from *Onofander*. * *Onofander* addeth, *it behooveth him to give the word to his highest Commanders, who are to deliver it over to the next to themselves, and they to their next inferior Officers, till it come to the last; for so shall every one speedily, decently, and quietly know what is commanded.* And this was the manner of the Grecians, as may appear by *Thucydides*, who describing the voyage of the Lacedemonians in giving the word and *signes*, of direction, hath thus, *And presently the Lacedemonians ordered themselves in battaile, Agis the King commanding, as their Law is; for when the King leadeth, all things are under his command, and hee giveth direction to the Polemarches; they to the Leuchag; who deliver it to the Pentecosters, and they to the Enomotarches, from whom the Souldiers of the Enomoties have it.* This was then the manner of the Grecians. How the Romans did deliver out their word you may finde in the first Booke of * *Polybim*. But because it pertaineth not to *Aelian*, who intreateth of the Grecian discipline alone, I remit the Reader to my marginal quotation. The *signe* was then delivered from the superior Officers to the inferior, and from them to the Souldier: the kinds of *signes* that were delivered are reckoned up in this Chapter, being in number two; for they were presented either to the *care* or to the *eye*; to the *care*, as all founds, whether mans *voice* or *trumpets*, or other instruments of *warre*, which were presented for direction or motion of the Army. To the *eye*, as all *mute signes* (so they are called which have no sound) which were set up to the view of the Souldier for direction likewise: Both of these kinds were either *ordinary* or *extraordinary*; *ordinary*, which had daily use in the Army, as the *Trumpet*, *Ensignes*, and such like, as served for ordinary direction: *Extraordinary*, which were brought in as occasion was offered of new command; besides, some were delivered *openly*, as the *vocall*, *femiocall* and *mute signes*, which by proclamation, sound of instruments, or representation were set forth to the whole army at once; some *privily*, as the *word*, and such like, which passed secretly from one to another, and were received privately in the *care*. This variety was invented, that in case one kinde failed, or would not serve, another might, as I have noted before out of *Strabus* upon the ninth Chapter, and as *Aelian* teacheth in this Chapter.

The ends of *signes* are two, one to order and direct our *owne forces*, the other to distinguish them from the *Enemy*.

Because I have before spoken of the diversity of *vocall* and *mute signes*, it shall not be amiss here to shew the use of them both by examples.

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And this is first to be noted, that the *Grecians* in governing their troopes, as much as they could, retained the use of the *voice*. In publique directions they used the *voice* of the *Crier*; I have before noted it upon the 9 Chapter. If the command required *secrecy*, the Generall gave it to his chiefe Commanders *secretly* by word: Of this kinde was the *signe* delivered to *discreet* enemy from his owne fouldiers in a battaile to be fought. * *Xenophon* writeth, that at such time as *Cyrus* the younger and *Artaxerxes* were to ioyne battaile, *Cyrus* sitting on horse-backe a pretty distance from the Grecian troopes, heard a murmuring noise running along through their whole battaile, and asking *Xenophon* (who was then present with him) what noise it might be, and what it meant, *Xenophon* told him, that the Word was now given the second time: Hee wondering who had revealed the Word to the Enemy, desired to know what the new word was; *Xenophon* answered, it was *Iupiter* the Saviour and victory; which *Cyrus* hearing, *I accept it, saith he, and let it be so*. The murmure here mentioned arose out of the delivering of the *signe* of the battaile, which being delivered to the inferior Officers by *Glearchus*, the chiefe Commander of the Grecians, and the Officers communicating it to the Souldiers, and the Souldiers one to another, went thorough the whole body of the phalange with a soft and still noise of them, that whisped it in the eares of their companions. *Xenophon* hath here set downe, that the word was *Iupiter* the saviour and victory; In * another place he hath, *Iupiter* the Saviour and *Hercules* the guide, for the another demanded the *signe*; if they delivered the word given by the Generall, they held them for friends; if otherwise, for enemies: * *Polyen* telleth of *Acetes* an Arcadian Generall, who commanded his Souldiers to kill him, who fewer he were that should aske the word: so that he made the *voice* of the enemy serve for the word to his owne Souldiers. This *signe* was changed in every battaile, lest, if still the same *signes* were used, the Enemy might happily come to the knowledge of them, and so be taken for friend, under colour whereof much treason might be wrought: not much unlike the *signe* given in a battell to be fought, is the *watch-word* by night, which was usually delivered to the first Officers of the Army, and by them deriued to the rest, and so brought downe to the Souldiers, and was no lesse observed in a Citie, then in the Campe; in both which the same forme of watching was held, save that in a Campe there were *Sentinels* per due, as we terme them at this day (the Grecians called them *perousones*) who stood and watched without the trench of the campe; whereas the Cities for the most part had *Sentinels* watching only upon the wals or market-place, or other pieces of strength giving to, and receiving the word from the rounders. And as the *signes* of battaile varied upon occasion, as the last example specified, so the *watch-words* were often changed, for feare they might come to the notice of the enemy; for the Enemy hauing the *Watch-word*, might nourish spies in our Campe or Citie, and haue certaine intelligence of all that passeth there, as being taken for friends, because they carried the *marke* and *tokens* of friends; and they were changed not only at the *reliefe* of the watch, which time is the usual moment of *varying* the word, but oftentimes after the *same* night, for feare that a *Sentinell* might be snatched up without the Campe by an enemy, or else because of treason within, in revealing the word to the enemy; oftentimes also they gaue a *double word*, one to the sentinell, another to the round; and some-

* *Polemarches*.
Leuchag.
Pentecosters.
Enomotarches.
Xenophon Cyrop. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 8.

* *Polyb. l. 1. c. 79*.
Lippin ad *Polyb.*
l. 1. dial. 9.
Veget. l. 3. c. 5.

* *Vocall*.
* *Femiocall*.
* *Mute*.

* *Signa Vocalia*.

* *Xenophon* Cyrop. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 8.

* *Xenophon* de impetu. l. 6. c. 16. p. 8.

* *Polyen* l. 1.

* *Quintus Curtius* lib. 1. c. 5. p. 116.

some-

¶ *Ensign* c. 17.
For the double
signe and cy-
signe, c. 18.
c. 19. 20. c. 21.
c. 22. c. 23. c. 24.
c. 25. c. 26. c. 27.
c. 28. c. 29. c. 30.

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sometimes added a *mute signe*, to the words, which kind they called *signes*, as it were *aby-signes*; and these are all the *secret signes by words*, which I finde in the Grecian practice. For the other words, as the exhortation of the General to the Army, and the words of training deliuered by the Cryer to the Souldiers, (for every Company had a Cryer, because his voice was stronger and louder then the Captaines,) they neither are secret, and seeme rather to be in the nature of Commands, then Signes. The single word of *bat-tell and watch*, I find to bee called by no other name then *tribuna*, if it were a double word *tribuna tribuna*, if a *mute signe* were ioyned to the word *tribuna*.

The voice then of a man was vied for a signe either when secretie was required, or else where the Crier might bee heard in discharging his duty by proclamation, because it was weak and could not extend to the hearing of the whole Army, and many things required for publike and quicke direction, Instruments of sound were brought in. *Vegetius* saith very well, *Because a multitude cannot be governed by voice alone in the tumults of fight, and because many things are to bee commanded and done, according to necessity, the ancient use of the Nations found out, how the whole Army by signes might with speed haue notice of and follow that, which the General iudged profitable for it.* To helpe therefore the weaknesse of the voice, Instruments of sound were brought in, which were of three sorts amongst the Grecians, the Trumpet, the Flute, and the Harpe. The Flute was vied by the *Lacedemonians*, the Harpe by the *Grecians*, (even to the ioyning of battail) all other *Grecians* vied the Trumpet. And yet in the battail during the time of fight, and in retreats, the *Lacedemonians* also vied the trumpet. I haue noted it before vpon the 3 Chapter, where I haue also touched in what occasions and actions the trumpet was the signe. Now will I give some Presidents of the particulars there remembered.

And first the Trumpet gaue the signe of removing the Campe, which appeared by this precept of *Leo*, *When you will remove your Campe without tumult, you are to giuen commandement one night.* And againe, *The same day, in which you remove, you are in the morning by day light to signify the remove by sound of the Trumpet three times, and then remove, and the Leaders and the armed are to goe out first, then the wagons, if any bee, and then other things which are caried for the use of the Army.* Thus *Leo*, for the remove by day. By night, the Army of the *Grecians*, that fought with *Antiochus* (as *Xenophon* reporteth) removed after this sort. After the death of *Cyrus*, the *Grecians*, that followed *Cyrus*, being in distresse, and pinched with want of all things, not knowing what course to take, and hauing a message from *Articus* (a chiefe *Persian* Commander under *Cyrus*) while he liued, to come and ioine with him, that they might returne together to *Ionia*, from whence they first began to march, *Clarchus* the Principall Commander of *Grecians* being determined to doe as *Articus* counselled, and yet loth the enemy should know of his departure, gaue these directions to the Army, *Thi must be your course, saith hee, we must get every man his lodging, and for a rub such provision as he hath, and when the morning cometh the signe to rise, trusse up your baggage, as the second signe day is upon the carrying beasts in the third every man follow his Leader.* The Captaines and Coronels hearing this, did as they were commanded. This practice of *Clarchus* differeth not much from *Leo*'s precept; for he vied three sounds of the trumpet, and so *Leo* doth command: *Clarchus* yet further sheweth what was bee done at the first signe, which *Leo* permitteeth, perhaps as a thing commonly knowne: *Be-*

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sides, *Clarchus* vied all these signes for another end, then for which they were first instituted. The *Grecians* at evening discharged their workmen from their worke by sound of trumpet, and that was called the signe of rest; then they diuided the night into foure parts, which were called foure watches, because their *Sentinels* were foure times releued in a night, and at euery reliefe the Trumpet sounded. Now the sounds of the Trumpet by night, *Clarchus* converted into signes for marching according to *Leues* prescription, and removed his Campe, the enemy not perceiving it. Hence it appeareth then that the Campe was removed by the sound of the Trumpet. And yet I finde that *Alexander* brought in an alteration about this signe of removing: For *Curius* remembereth that *Alexander* at the first vied it, but perceiving afterwards, that this signe could hardly be discerned by the whole Army, by reason of the noise and stirring of the multitude, thought it better to sticke downe a Pole, and vpon the top of it to hang a coloured cloth, to giue his Army notice, that hee meant to remove, and euer after held himselfe to that signe.

The Trumpet likewise was the signe of fight: And when all the Trumpets of the Army sounded, it was called *et machinam*, (in Latine *Glossimus*) and the whole Army hearing this signe, began to aduance, and sung the *Pæan*, and gaue a shout, and presently ioyned with the enemy. The Greeke histories eue-ry where giue testimony hereof.

But were are to note that this sounding of trumpets all together, was before the Army came to ioine with the enemy, and that the end of it was to strike a terror into the enemy, and to encourage and stirre vp the mindes of their owne people to fight, for in the time of fight, they vied another manner according to this precept of *Leo*, *I would not aduise you to sound with many Trumpets, during the time of conflict, it being a thing both hurlyfull, and bringing with it tumult and confusion: for thereby no Commander can bee heard. But if the place bee sound plaine and even, the Trumpets of the middle battell will bee sufficient for all the other battels: if it be uneven, or the winds, as it often happeneth, bolstered, or the noise of matters hinder the cleernesse of the sound, it will not bee inconvenient for a Trumpet to speake in euery battell, so that three may be sounded in the whole Army. For the more that stillnesse is observed, the lesse shall the younger sort of Souldiers be disturbed, or the beasts frightened, and more reasonable shall the battell seeme to the enemy, and directions be better heard and put in execution.*

The Trumpets were therefore the signes of fight, first all sounding together when the Army went to charge, and afterward one or three at the most during the time of fight.

And as the signe of fight was giuen by the Trumpet, so was the signe of retreat.

This also is manifest by the stratagem of *Pammenes*. *Polyen* relateth that hee *Polyen*, in *Pammenes*, deceived his enemies by using a contrary course in sounding the Trumpets, then the common manner was, to commanding his Souldiers when bee sounded the retreat, they should goe to charge, when he sounded a charge they should retreat: in doing whereof, he greatly annoyed his enemies. The example of *Agessilas* cited by mee in my notes vpon the 9 Chapter sheweth, that the trumpet was vied for retreats. And the History of *Callistarchus* reported by *Diador*. *Scit*, in his 15 Booke, *Sai-*das nameth this kinde of found giuen by the trumpet, *apostomon*, as it were a calling backe, or a command to retire.

The

The trumpet finally was vied as a *signe* for the Army to stand, or to go forward as the business required. Albeit I must confesse, there were other vniuersal signes besides the trumpet in this case: *Leo* saith, in exercise of Horse, *whenever the trumpet is blowne, you are to give fight either with the voice alone, or with the trumpet, or else with the blowing downe of a Minicoll, and so to move them, as if you would have them to make alle; you are to direct either with the voice, saying stand, or with the trumpet, or with the noise of a Targe beaten upon with a sword.* The like he speaketh of the exercise of foot in the same Chap: and after in the 9th Ch. he saith, *you shall command the Souldiers to stand by knowing exactly the sound of the trumpet, & likewise the sound of the trumpet.* So that although other signes might be used for marching & retreat, yet the most common signe was by the trumpet, & how we are to vnderstand, that all signes given by found to the eare (except by the voyce) are called *signa sonantia*, because albeit their found be louder and stronger for the most part, then the voyce is; yet they are not articulated as is the found of the voyce. Hitherto of signes that were given to the eare by the found. Now are we to speake briefly of mute signes, or those that were set vp, as it were, a mark for the eye.

Mute signes were of two kinds: for either they were *simple*, and vied by themselves, as an object of the eye alone, or else they were *mixed*, and ioyned to signes of found, and so communicated both to the eye and to the eare. Of the second sort were those whereof I haue spoken a little before, and they were called *signa mixta*, namely when a mute signe is added to a *vocal*: as when to the Word in the night is ioyned some speciall gesture of the body, as holding downe or nodding of the head, lifting vp the hand, putting off the hat, heaving vp the skirt of the garment, &c. concerning which see *Omnifid. l. 6. c. 10.* Of the first kinde were signes presented to the eye alone, which extended very largely, and serued where neither voyce nor trumpet could be heard by reason of the remoteness of the place; they were called *signa pura*, *signa propria*, and *signa propria* likewise, because it was agreed by the parties, who gaue and tooke them, that they should haue such and such signification. The words be different, but the meaning and effect is all one; for as no signe can be, but there must be a giuer and a taker of the signe, so in that respect the signes called *signa pura* by reason of the communication betwixt the giuer and taker of the signe, may aptly also be termed *signa pura*. And albeit I noted before that the *signe* of the battaile and the watchword was called by no other name but *signum*, yet it *enough* taken often for a *mute signe* also: for many occasions were of giuing these signes, and they were sometimes shewen by day sometimes by night, and in the day time they were sometime proposed in the battaile, sometime in other places, where they might be perceived. *Arrian* historieth of *Alexander* the Great, that at his being in the Country of the *Tauentians*, his enemies *Clytus* and *Glaucias*, had with many horse, drorters, and slingers, and not a few armed men, taken the *Montaines* and high places, by which he was to passe in returning. The place was freight and wooddy, thus up on the one side with a river, on the other side with an exceeding high mountaine, the sides whereof were very steep, so that the Army could not march with more then foure armed in front. *Alexander* marshalled his troopes to 120 in depth, and ordering 200 horse on each wing, he commanded silence, and heede to be taken to his directions: And first he willed the Army to aduance their pikes, then upon a signe giuen to let them fall, and charge, then to turn them close knit to the right hand, then

to the left, and sometime he moued the battell quickly forward, and sometime he moued it to the one wing, sometime to the other. And so fashioning it into diuers shapes in short time, and at last casting it into a wedge, as it were, he led it against the Enemy, who stood wondering at the speediest and good order of the diuers motions; and now perceiving the Army to be led against them, abode not the charge, but left the hills, which he held, and fled. Here are mentioned seuen severall motions of the Phalange, which were haue in practice at this day: 1. A turning of Pikes, 2. charging of them, 3. first to the right hand, 4. then to the left hand, 5. moving of the battell forward, 6. moving it to the right wing, and then 7. to the left. And all these motions were directed by a signe; what this signe was, may be doubted, because it is not exprest whether it was by voice, trumpet, or a mute signe. For my part I would not take it to haue beene by voyce; for how could the voyce be heard in so great an Army as *Alexander* had (which according to *Diodorus Siculus* consisted of 30000 foot and 3000 horse) if *Diodorus Siculus* 166. it were declared it to haue beene giuen by trumpet; because, though perhaps the trumpet might be heard of all the Army, by reason of the Echo rebounding from the Mountaine and river, yet could it not fitly and clearly distinguish the sound that should direct these seuen severall motions: I haue therefore thinke, that it was a mute signe presented to the eye; as for the purpose of a *Coate*, or other garment fastned to the end of a long staffe, the colour whereof being eminent, and the staffe being lifted aloft might be perceived by the whole Army. The signe then aduanced to the full height, might signify advancing of Pikes, which was the first motion. Being abaied and held lowell toward the front, charging to the front, which was the second motion; held out toward the right flanke charging to the right hand, to the left flanke, charging to the left hand, which were the third and fourth motions of *Alexander*: moving forward in front, it might be a signe for the battell to follow, which was the fifth. Meaning to the right hand, for the battell to march to the right, which was the sixth: to the left, for the battell to move to the left, which was the seventh, which motion might more easily be performed, in case the ensignes of the particular Companies tooke their direction from the maine signe, and ours of their Ensignes: This I say is my coniecture, wherein notwithstanding I preiudice no mans opinion, but leave every man to his owne conceit who being chosen *Admirall* by the Citty, as soone as he began to take the Sea with his *Naue*, both at once sailed, and also prepared all things necessary for Sea-fight: for he left at home the greater shalles, as one that sailed forth to fight, and seldome vied the both made the bodies of his men strong and heauiy, and the *Naue* gained a speedier way, and oftentimes where he meant to dine, there would he draw his whole *Naue* from the shore in a wing? and turning them about, and addressing their prowes to the land, give a signe for the ships to hasten with all celerity to the land, every one as it could. It was a great reward and victory for those that came first to land, to water, and take all things they needed, as also to dine and a great punishment to the sluggards to want those commodities, and besides to put to sea again, when the signe was giuen: for the first did all things at ease, and as they list, the last were freightned with haste, then

Diodorus Siculus 166.

Xenophon hist. grec. l. 6. c. 17. G.

A single file.

The Tactics of Ælian, or

must doe as they could. When, by chance he dined in the enemies Countrey, he set out Sentinels some upon land as behooued, other upon ships rearing up the Masts, that from thence they might take a view of all things: for these being placed in a high station might easily discern and see further, then the other standing upon even ground: wherefoever he supped and slept, he suffered no fires to be made in the Campe by night, but held light before the Campe, that no man might haue access to it without discovery. Oftentimes in faire weather he no sooner supped, but put to sea againe, and in case there were a fresh gale, sailed forward, and the sailers in the meane time gaue themselves to rest: when hast was needfull he releued the saylers by turnes, and in the day time upon signes led sometimes in a wing some times in a phalange.

a Xenophon
Xenophon hist. grec.
l. 6. § 37. C.

b Leo c. 19. § 40.

a Leo c. 19. § 42.
a Xenophon.

b Leo c. 19. § 42.

d Diad. Sic. l. 3.
372.

e Polyb. l. 1. § 11.

b Xenophon

That these were mute signes from the Admirall ship (besides that, the word *enough* importeth so much for the most part) no man I thinke acquainted with Sea-service will make question, considering that both *voice* and *trumpet* easily giue place to the whistling of windes and roaring of tempests, and raging of waues of the Sea. To say nothing of the distance of one ship from another, nor of the tumult and cry of Mariners, or found of oares (for in those times sea-fights were altogether in Gallies driuen with oares) which make them vncapable of direction by any other kinde of signe. And for these mute signes to be giuen by sea, I meane, of what kinde they should be, and to what end, and in what manner deliuered. I thinke good to cite the words of the Emperour *Leo*, which sound thus: *Let there be saith he, in your Galley a signe standing in some eminent place, either an ensigne, or some bannerall, or some such like, wherewith after you haue signified what is to be done, your direction may straight be understood and executed, whether you would haue your *Flag* to goe to charge, or retire from the Enemy, or to counter-march to encompassse the enemy, or to hasten to relieue some of your owne party distressed, or slacke or quicken their aduancing, or lay or avoid an ambush, or such like: that they seeing the signes from your ship, may rectifie direction what is to be done. And a little after he declareth the manner and v- sage of these signes, saying; Let the signe be shewne either standing vpright, or inclining to the right or left hand, or listet aloft, or let fall low, or be taken cleane away, or transported to another place, or changing by making the head of it appeare in diuers formes by adding other shapes of colours vnto it, as was vsed by the Ancients. For their manner was in the day of battaile to reare up a red coloured signe, which they called *couinus*, and it was nothing else but a peece of red cloth exalted upon a long staffe, and such like; but it may be more safely deliuered by your owne hand. I thought good to cite these passages of *Leo*, the rather to giue light to the place last before recited out of *Xenophon*. For out of this precept of *Leo* the practise of *Iphicrates* his motions may more perpicuouly appeare.*

Now that these red coloured signes, and signes of other colours also were vsed in fights on land, *Polybius* sheweth in the battell betwene *Antigonus* the Macedonian King, and *Cleomenes* the King of Sparta. *Antigonus* Army consisted of diuers nations, Macedonians, Agrians, Galatians, Achæans, Bæotians, Epirotes, Acarnans, Illyrians. *Cleomenes* his enemy had taken and fortified all the streight passages which led into the territory of the Lacedæmonians (for thither did *Antigonus* bend his inuasion) and so disposed his forces that *Antigonus* could not passe without fight: Hereupon *Antigonus* resolved to fight, and because his fight was to be ordered in and against diuers places, and at diuers times, as his aduantage fell out, he gaue diuers signes to his different people, when to giue on: The signe to the Illyrians was, then to charge vp the

Caesar l. 1. de bel.
l. 3. § 3.

Diad. Sic. l. 3.
l. 3. § 3.

Appian in Hist.
l. 3. § 3.

Virgil. l. 3. § 3.

Caesar. l. 3.

or if a Terrarchy
lead,

* Two divisions.
Xenoph. Hist. grec.
1.6.587.C.

* Leo C. 19. 5410.

* Leo C. 19. 5410.
* capitulum.

* Leo C. 19. 5410.

* Died. Sic. l. 3.
372.

* Polyb. l. 11.

* 74. 1. 1. 1.

direct times, as the
people, when to give on: The *signe* to the Illyrians was, then to charge vp
the

* Caesar l. 1. de bel.
l. 1. 3. 1.

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rp * Died. Sic. l. 3.

372.

* Virg. l. 3. 4. 5.

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* Appian in 114.

passim 3. 4. 5.

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Sec. Virg. l. 3. 4. 5.

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* Xenoph. l. 1.

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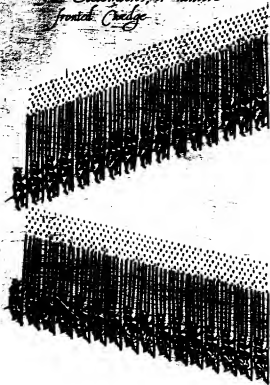
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That some kinde of march is a (2) *right induction*, other (some) a (3) *deduction* on the *right* or *left hand*, and that in a *single*, or *double*, or *treble*, or *quadruple* side of battell: In a *single*, when one Enemy is feared, in a *double*, when two in a *treble*, when three in a *quadruple*, when the Enemy purposeth to give on all sides. Therefore the March is vnderaken sometimes in a *single*, sometimes in a *double*, or in a *threefold*, or in a *fourfold* phalange.

(4) A *right induction* is, when one body of the same kinde followeth another, as if a *Xenagy* lead, the rest follow *Xenagy*-wise; or if a *Terrarchy* lead,

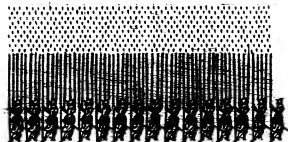
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The Cademboloi, or hollow
fronted Charge



Cap. 36.

The right Induction



The front

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duets times, as the Illyrians was, then to charge v^p
people, when to giue on: The signe to the Illyrians was, then to charge v^p
the

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

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the hill, when they saw a white linnen cloath held vp from the place about Olym-
pus, to the Megalopolitans and horse, when they saw the King lift up a purple gar-
ment. * Caesar commanded his Soldiers not to fight without his direction, say-
ing, he would giue a signe with an ensigne, when he would haue them begin. And al-
beit the colour of red was vied for the most part in Signals, yet was not the
parry that gaue the signe precisely tyed to any colour: it was enough if the
signe might giue notice of the Generals intent to them, whom it concerned: the
first Ptolomee gaue a signe to his Nautie to begin the fight by hoisting vp
a guile Target in his Admirall galley, * other with holding vp or shaking about
garment, or their hand, or with wearing some vnsuall marke vpon a horse, vpon
Armes, vpon vestures, or such like. This is to be noted for a generall
rule, that when you finde in history a signe was giuen at a great distance, and
it is not exprest what signe it was, you must vnderstand that it was a mute
signe prented to the eye, because the fence of hearing is feeble, and not able
to discern farre off. Hitherto of mute signes giuen by day. In the night, when
all was couered with darknesse, and the vie of sight taken away, the vsuall
manner was to giue a signe by flame of fire, which manner of signall might be
descried in the night, being the darknesse neuer so great: * Scipio Africanus * Appian in his
the younger, hauing enclosed Numantia round about with a trench and ram-
pier, commanded that if the Enemy fell out vpon any part of his fortification, a red
peece of cloath should be hid out by day vpon a long staffe, a flaming fire by night, that
himselfe or his chiefe officers might come to succour. The like shall you finde in
Caesars Commentaries and Curtius and in other Historiographers both
Greece and Latine. See Virgil. 3. 4. 5.

These were the signes vied in the battell, and in the Campe: without the Campe
were set Sentinels both horse and foot to fore-warne and giue aduertisement
to the Generall of the Enemies approach. To these oftentimes the Gene-
rall gaue a signe among himselfe, and they by signes signified what was
done abroad. For the manner of placing these Sentinels, see Aeneas. The
signes themselves were such as might be discerned by the eye, and of that
kinde and forme whereof I haue made mention already.

Of Marching and of the diuers kind of battels fit for a march. And first of the
right induction, of the Cademboloi, and of the Triphalange
to be opposed against it.

CHAP. XXXVI.

(1) Being now to speake of marching, I will first giue to vnderstand
that some kinde of march is a (2) right induction, other (3) one a
(3) deduction on the right or left hand, and that in a single, or
double, or treble, or quadrupled battell: In a single, when one
Enemy is feared, in a double, when two in a treble, when three
in a quadruple, when the Enemy purposeth to giue on all sides. Therefore the
March is vnderaken sometimes in a single, sometimes in a double, or in a three-
fold, or in a fourfold phalange.

(4) A right induction is, when one body of the same kinde followeth ano-
ther, as if a Xenagie lead, the rest follow Xenagie-wise; or if a Tetrarchy
lead,

D 2

lead, the rest follow according to that forme. It is so called when the marche stretcheth it selfe forth into a *wing*, having the *depth* many times exceeding the *length*.

Against it is opposed the *Cæmbolos* or *hollow-wedge*, which is framed when the Antistomus *diphlange* disjoyneth the leading wings, closing the reare in forme of the letter V, as the figure after doth teach, in which the front is dissevered, and the reare joyned and knit together: for the right induction pointing at the *middle* of the Enemies battell, the *Cæmbolos* quickly opening before, serveth both to *frustrate* the charge of the front of the *induction*, and to *classe in* and circumvent the *flanks* thereof.

Furthermore a *Triphalange* is to be set against the *Cæmbolos*, one *Phalange* fighting against one wing of the *Cæmbolos*, the second against the other, and the middle or third phalange forbearing, and expecting a time fit to charge.

NOTES.

THe Marching of an Army is a principall head of warre. *Ælian* toucheth it no further, then to shew the order and shapcs of battells fit for a March: and were it possible, that all grounds were alike open, and without impediments, as namely without trees, ditches, hedge-rows ragged waies, valleys, hills, brooks, and such like, the best forme of your marching should be to proceede with your whole phalange in a *square battell*, which forme is ready for all attempts of the enemy, and is the beginning and fourse of other formes, and with no great difficulty will take & be changed into any shape you desire. *Leo* sheweth the inconueniency of the *Herse* or induction in marching thorow *Champaigne* and large plaines, first in that the Enemy with a *broad-fronted* battaile may *enfold* and encompass the front, and so easily rout it then, because if the Enemy charge the *flanks* it will quickly be broken, as being without depth: further, if he fall vpon the *reare*, it is in the like danger of encompassing, as was the front: lastly neither can the front giue succour and assistance to the *reare*, in case it be ouerpressed by the Enemy, nor yet the *reare* to the *front*, they being so farre distance one from another. And he concludeth that the forme of a *square* or *broad-fronted* battaile, is fit for a march in all occasions, being easily to be ordered, and without danger. But seeing it is not possible, as *Polibius* saith, or else very hard to finde out places of 20 furlongs, or more, where in none of the impediments aboue recited shall be, the formes of marching must necessarily be accommodated to the ground and wayes through which your forces are to passe: what formes they be, the following Chapters will shew.

2. Some kinde of March is a right Induction. The expectation of the enemies approach is oftentimes a cause of varying the kinds of march: if he alwayes appeared in front, there should need no other proceeding then with the file-leaders in front: because he seekes his advantage, and in the March sometimes attacheth the reare, sometimes one flanke, sometimes another, the Grecians to provide for all attempts, so ordered their March, that wheresoever they feared the enemies giuing on, there they opposed the file-leaders, as the best men of the Armie, and most able to receive the assault: yet for the most part the March was undertaken in a right induction, that

that is, without inuerting the ordinary kind of file-leading in front, which also is our manner of marching at this day. But yet sometimes in a

3. *Deduction* on the right or left hand. There is but one kind of right induction, viz. a march, that hath the file-leaders in the front. Of Deductions there are a kinde: one to the right, the other to the left hand. And because the file-leaders march on the right or left hand flanke, not in front; therefore the one is called a *right hand deduction*; the other a *left hand deduction*. So that not the body which continueth or beginneth the march, but the place of the file-leaders in the march, makes the difference betwixt Induction and Deduction. What the Use of Deduction is, we shall see in the next Chapter.

4. *Right Induction* is. *Ælian* describeth the right Induction by the marching of feuerall bodies of one kind one after another; as if a *Xenagay* lead, all the rest of the forces are to be separated into *Xenagies*, and singly one after another to follow the first leading *Xenagay*: so of other bodies lesser or greater. Notwithstanding in a right Induction, we must take this caution with all, that the file-leaders proceed in the front; for otherwise if they bee placed in the flanke, it is now no induction, but a deduction, howsoever the feuerall bodies of a kind follow one another.

This is that manner of marching which is called, marching in a *wing*, of which I haue spoken sufficiently in my notes vpon the 30 Chapter. There are other kind of *inductive marches* set forth in the Greeke History, which are not altogether of the forme which *Ælian* describeth: for where *Ælian* would haue *Xenagies* to follow one another with the file-leaders in front, his meaning is, that the whole 16 files of the *Xenagie* should bee laid together all the file-leaders being layed in an euen front. Now you haue examples where whole Companies march in one file; so that all the file-leaders haue not the front, but rest included in the inward parts of the file, and yet many of these files ioyned together make an induction. *Xenophon* reporteth, that when *Cyrus* the elder was mustering and exercising his Army in the field, there came vnto him a messenger from *Cyaxares* the King of the *Medes*, being *Cyrus* his uncle, signifying, that an Ambassador was arrived from the *Indies*, to which regard, said hee, the King would haue you to come to him with all speed, and I bring you from *Cyaxares* one of his richest garments: For he desireth in regard the *Indians* are to see you, that your presence may bee adorned with as faire and sumptuous apparell as may bee. *Cyrus* receiving this message, commanded the first *Taxiarch* to stand in front, haueing his Company ordered behind him in one file, and himselfe holding the right corner file of the battell, and willed him to deliuer that Command to the second *Taxiarch*, and so the word to passe to the rest: They quickly obeyed, and put the Command in execution; and so it came to passe in short space, that the Front had in it 300, (for so many the *Taxiarches* were) the depth of the battell 100. After they stood in this order, hee commanded them to follow as he led, and straightway he led them running: but because hee perceived that the way was too straight to march with so many in Front, hee willed the first *Chiliarch* to follow in the same order in which it then was, and the second in the Reare thereof, and so the rest: and he sent two Sergeants to the turnings of the way to giue direction to such as were not fully instructed in the businesse. When they were come to *Cyaxares* gate, hee willed the first *Taxiarch* to order his Company 12 depe, and the *Dodecadarches* to stand in Front all along the pallaces, and hee willed to signify so much to the next *Taxiarch*; and so the rest one to another through the whole Army: They did as they were commanded: and he went in to *Cyaxares*. Here haue you

The Tacticks of Aelian, or

first a Company drawne into file, and so standings, then 299 Companies fashioned into files, and laid flanke-wise to the first, and so marching as long as the ground would permit: The ground afterward being capable of no more then 19 in front, the Chiliarchy of the right hand was drawne forth to leade then 19 in front, the Chiliarchy consisted of 10 Companies, the Body being 10 in front, and 100 in depth: The rest of all the Chiliarchies followed the Reare one of another in the same order: coming to a place where Alte was to be made, the first Taxis drew out his Company by 12, placing the first file leader in front with the first 12 of the file, and sleueing vp the Dodecadarch of the same file to front with the file leader, and the hindmost 12 of them that followed him to ranke with the former halfe file; the like was done by the 3 other files, so that each Taxis had 8 in front, and 12 in depth, and there being 30000 men in that Army, the whole Army comprehended 300 Taxis, the halfe files of 12 a peece amount to the number of 2400: so many men in number also making the front of the Army. And for the leading of the first Chiliarchy in the straight way, and the rest following in the like forme, it was an induction, which notwithstanding discreeth from Aelians induction, Aelians Chiliarchy in the induction requieth the file leaders in front, this differd them in the whole body, Aelians Chiliarchy would haue had but 16 in depth, this had 100. For marching inlike manner with the Captains before, and the single files of a Company cast into one file after them, I finde another example in Xenophon. The elder Cyrus was to invade Assyria by night, directeth his Army thus, Let vs leaue with the carriage beasts and waggons, such as are fittest for that seruice, and let Gobrias be their Leader, because hee is both skillfull in the waies, and otherwise sufficient for any affaire of Command: And let vs set forward with the best and most able horse and foot, carrying with vs victuall for three daies: for the lighter, and with the lesse cumber we shall appoint our selues, with less much the more pleasure the after passing daies shall we dine, sleepe, and sleepe. Now let the march be ordered in this manner: First, you Chrylonthas, lead the armed foote with all their Captaines in front, as long as the way is even and broad, and let every Company be ordered in depth souldier after souldier file-wise for the closer we put our selues together, the sooner and safer shall we end our march. I be cause why I would haue the Armed goe before, is in regard they are the best of the Army, and when the best goe before, the light must needs follow at ease. But when the lightest leade, especially in the night, it is no maruail if the Army be seuered and distracted, the light easily slipping away, and hastening in the Vauit. Next vnto these, let Artabazus lead the Targetiers and Archers of the Persians, and Andramias the Median, the Median footemen next, then let Embas follow with the Armenian foot, and Artuchas after him with the Hircanians, and next Thambradas with the Sacan foote, then Damatas with the Cadusian, and let all these march with the Captains in front, and on the right flanke of their Plestium the Targetiers (or Pelists) the Archers on their left, for so shall they better second one another. After these let the whole baggage march, the Commanders whereof must be careful to haue all things ready before they sleepe, and early in the morning to be at the appointed place with their furniture, and decore to march forward. After the baggage let Madatas the Persian lead the Persian Horse with their Captaines in front, and let the Captaines order their Companies in a file, as the foot Captaines did: Next after these Rambaces the Median in the same sort the Horse which bee commanded: Then you Tygraues your horse: Then the

order

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

other Horse Captaines euery one the Horse with which they serue mee. And as the Cadusians came last to my seruice, let them close up the reare of the Army: Thus Xenophon.

The passage is somewhat long, but I thought good to recite it, because it containeth the order of night marches vsuall of old time. First, the armed foote march euery Nation after other, as long as the ground would giue leaue, in a square battell framed of Company laid to Company euery Company drawne out into a file, the Targetiers on the one flanke, the Archers on the other: then the carriage: last of all the Horse. The reason is added why the slowest haue the Vauit, namely, left in the night, when all things (saith the same Xenophon) are to bee vnder stood and done by direction to the care, and not to the eye, the Horsemen or light armed (who are nimble & quick, the Horsemen by reason of the Horse that carry them, the light armed, because they are troubled with no weight of Armes) leading, they might happily with their speede out-goe, and leaue the heavy armed beehinde, who being burdened with the heauinesse of their Armes, can march but slowly.

But my principall end was to shew, that the file-leaders in an induction, are not alwaies placed in front; I will adde one example out of Xenophon more to the same purpose: When the Grecians that followed Cyrus the younger into Persia, returned toward their Country, they came as farre as the river Phisages they found there a bridge, and not farre off a great City called Opis, at which the best brother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, leading from Susa and Ecabata a mighty Army with him, to giue aid to the King, met the Grecians, and causing his own Army to make alie, heeooke vnto of the Grecians as they passed by. Clearchus led his Army in front, and in his march oftentimes made alie. As long as the Vauit of the Army staied, so long the Reare must likewise stay. So that the Grecians were of opinion they had a great Army, and the Persian was abashed at the sight of such a multitude.

Whether this march were Aelians right Induction, a man would doubt, because it is not exprest by Xenophon particularly how the bodies of the Phalange did march: onely hee saith, that Clearchus led his Army in files, saith the Latine translation: I interpret it a in front. For two in depth it could not be, because Xenophon speaketh of a stand made oftentimes by the Vauit which caused the Reare to stay. And had the Army beene but 2 in depth, it had been all Vauit, the 10000 Grecians being ordered into two ranks and no more, each of them being 5000 men, besides that the Persian wondered at the multitude which passed by him in flanks, which flank if it had consisted of no more then two, his wonder would soon haue ended. But Clearchus vsed Art to make his number seeme greater, and being but 2 in front, they must needs be 5000 in file, to which 5000 giuing 2 foot a peece for their open order the ground will contain 10000 foot in depth, which amount to six miles of ours. The vsage of the Lacedaemonians was to march sometimes with 2 in front, if the way were straight. So did Dercylides in Asia the lesse, when entering into a City his whole Army followed him peacefully vnto two in front. So Archidamus the sonne of Agesilaus, aduancing against the Arcadians by a cart way that led to Cromum, ordered his Army 2 in front, as then his march fell out. When they approached one to another, Archidamus his Army being in a wing by reason

D 4

Five foot make a pace, 10000 foot are a mile, 10000 pace make a mile.

a Xenophon Cyrop. lib. 2. cap. 8.

b Dercylides

c he is

d Plestium is a hollow square battell.

of the straightness of the way, the Archadians in a broad-fronted phalange, with targets close faced together, the Lacedæmonians could not endure the charge of the Archadians, and forthwith both Archidamus was wounded through the thigh, and they flaine thus fought before him. Hee saith that Archidamus marched two in from wing-wise by reason of the straightness of the way. In that he saith wing-wise, he sheweth the army was drawne out in depth, which is proper to an induction; and when he maketh the way the cause, he giueth a reason, why it so marched. But to returne to that I first propounded, the inductions hitherto specified in the former examples seeme to differ from Ælians right induction, as neither hauing all the file-leaders in front, nor yet single bodies of the same kinde one to follow another, the companies being each drawne into one file, and then two, or three, or foure, or more of these files laid together according to the largeness of the way, and the rest of the army following in the manner afore expressed.

5. Against it is opposed the Cælembolos.] The Cælembolos is a wedge hollow in front, and to be opposed against the right induction, saith Ælian. I haue noted before that it hath bene the manner of all famous Generals to fit the embattailing of their armies to the forme which the enemy vseth at the time of ioyning: and therefore it much concerneth the Commander of an army to be skilfull in all formes, which are of true vse, and to know the aduantage that one carrieth against another. The right induction is, and alwayes hath bene the ordinary forme to march in. To order your troopes in an aduantageous forme against it, the Cælembolos was inuented: It is called by the Greekes a hollow wedge, because it is not filled vp in the midst, but includeth a void space bias-wise in front betwixt the points of both wings, and ioyneth it selfe together in the reare. So that to one that shall view it behind it seemes a plaine wedge, and yet in propriety of speech it cannot be called a Wedge; for a Wedge hath three sides and three points, and beareth the true forme of a triangle; and with the former point it chargeth the enemy, as hath bene shewne in the horse-mans wedge. This hath but one point and two sides, neither doth it charge the enemy with the point, but receiving the front of his battaile into the empty space, striketh vpon both the flanks thereof with the wings, it hath opened and so seeketh to distresse it; the Cælembolos hauing this aduantage, that it fighteth with the best men, viz. the file-leader of the right induction, but against the weaker sort, who are ordinarily placed in the flanks thereof. The Latine names are more fit and significant to expresse the forme. By forme it is called a *paire of tongues*, by other some a *paire of heres*, both appellations serving to set forth the right forme of the Cælembolos: for the one and the other open their foremost parts to a pretty distance, and the hinder parts, which are pinned and fastened together, end in a narrow point, as doth the Cælembolos. And they were so farre from tearing it a wedge, that they held it the best forme to receive and frustrate the charge of the true wedge, as may be seene in *Vegetius*.

6. Which is framed when.] The fashioning of the Cælembolos springeth out the Diphallange Antistomus. What that Diphallange is, we shall see in the 40 chapter of this booke. Thus much I may before-hand signifie, that the

the file-leaders ought to be placed within the hollow flanks of the Cælembolos, as it were a lying to the infidels; and the Diphallange Antistomus being once framed (which is to haue the file-leaders in the midst from the one end of the battaile to the other) there needeth no further labour, then to dispatch the front in the midst (leauing the file-leaders on both sides) and to fasten and ioyn together the reare, to the end that the front of the right induction may enter into the hollownesse, but yet be mased, as it were in a net, and neither able to passe through the reare of the Cælembolos, being close fast, nor yet to giue offence to those that fight in the front of the Cælembolos, hauing no man whom they may charge in the void space, nor yet daring to breake the forme of their battaile after ioyning. For it is a good obseruation of *Vegetius*, that in fight the manner of your embattailing is not to be changed, nor any number of Soldiers to be transported to other places then they haue: For heresofort tumult and confusion will straight arise, and the enemy will easily take aduantage of such as are not ready or fall out to be disordered. I haue said that the Latines and Grecians differ in the name of this battaile, howbeit they agree both about the forme, which may here appeare by Ælian, who resembleth it to the letter V, neither can there a better resemblance be made; for as the letter V consisteth of two lines which are open in the top, close in the bottom, so doth this forme of battaile of two sides, which in front are void, open, and disseuered, in the reare ioyned and closed fast together. If you will therefore frame this battaile, you must first make a square, the file-leaders being all in front; then must you wheele the wings of your battaile into the midst, and so your file-leaders shall be in the midst; lastly, you are to open the front of your battaile, leauing halfe the file-leaders in the inside of one flanke, and halfe in the inside of the other, keeping the reare close knit together: and for the opening, it ought to be somewhat more then will receiue into the void space the front of the right induction, which being once let in, the inward two flanks of the wedge where the file-leaders are, ought to face to both hands, and to charge the outward flanks of the right induction, and so circumsunt them.

7. Furthermore, a Triphallange.] A Triphallange in this place of Ælian is, when a square body or phalange is from front to reare diuided into three parts. The figure shewes the manner. The Triphallange hath as much aduantage against the Cælembolos, as the Cælembolos had against the right induction. The Cælembolos compelled the right induction to fight with the worst men, and avoided the affront of the file-leaders, which were the best. The Triphallange hauing the file-leaders in front, opposeth two severall fronts: against the two wings of the Cælembolos, where there are no file-leaders (for they are alwayes disposed for the inside) and both aduoideth the aduantage the Cælembolos sought, and maketh the Cælembolos fight with the worst men, in as much as one of the Phalanges chargeth the front of one wing of the Cælembolos, the file-leaders whereof are in flanke within the hollownesse, the other chargeth the other. Now it hath this aduantage besides, that it spareth reserves for all occasions, by off-holding the third Phalange. If the Cælembolos be beaten by the two opposing Phalanges, all is lost, and no hope left of winning the field, no other forces being to second it, where notwithstanding the Cælembolos hauing gotten the better, may be curbed, and the victory arrested by this reserve, and by the remnant of the other two Phalanges broken.

The Tactics of Ælian, or

Words of direction in the right induction.

- 1 The right-corner Xenagy march out } So is it of all other bodies, if
2 The rest follow in Xenagies } they begin the march.

Direction for the Calemboles.

1. Wheele the wings of your battaile into the } So shall the file-leader be
middest of your body } in the middest; but we
2. Open your front to the right and left hand, } must note that the two
keeping your Reare close. } middlemost leaders must
be centors for the other
to wheele about.

For the Triphalange.

- 1 The two wings face to the right and left hand, the middle remaining
as it was.
2 March out to the distance required: } That is, to be able to meet in a
3 Stand, { When they come to the place } right line the two fronts of
required. } the wings of the Calembo-
4 Face as you were. } los.
5 Aduance and charge.

Of Parage or deduction.

CHAP. XXXVII.

- (1) **P**arage or deduction is when the Phalange proceedeth in
(2) a wing, not by (3) file, but by ranke, hauing the *commanders*
or file-leaders either on the right-hand, which is called
a right hand deduction, or on the left hand, which is a left-
hand deduction. For the Phalange marcheth in a (4) double,
treble, or quadruple front, according to the place or part it is suspected the
enemy will giue on. And both the parages beginning the fight in flanke,
doe (5) make the length double to the depth. This forme of fight was deuised
to teach a Squidier to receiue heedfully the charge of the enemy, not onely in
front but also in flanke.

NOTES.

- (1) **D**eduction is when the Phalange.] Induction is spoken of, Deduction
followeth, which is the second kinde of march. For these are no
other

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

other kinds then Induction and Deduction: the one with the file-leaders in front, the other with the file-leaders in flanke. Neither doth the greatnesse or smallnesse of the body make any difference herein; be the body neuer so great (as is the Phalange) or so small (as one Company) yet must the file-leaders either lead, or else be in flanke of the march. The reare in necessity may well be made good by the bringers vp. Deduction is the mother of many formes of battailes visuall in marches: from it come the Calemboles, whereof we spake before; from it are the Antistomus, the Peristomus, the Homoiostomus, the Heterostomus, of which hereafter.

2 When the Phalange proceedeth in a wing.] Suidas hath, that Parage or deduction is said to be when the phalange marcheth with the file-leaders on the right or left hand; if on the left, it is said to be a left-hand deduction; if on the right, a right-hand deduction. He maketh no mention of a wing as Ælian doth; for it may to fall out, that the body may be such as hath the depth and breadth all one, as a Xenagy which hath sixteen in breadth, and sixteen in depth: some bodies also, as the Taxies and Tetrarchies haue the depth less then the breadth, the first holding sixteen in depth & no more then eight in breadth, the last foure in breadth and sixteen in depth, so that they march not in a wing. But because marches for the most part are vnderaken in a wing, it is the cause why Ælian saith that deductions proceed in a wing, the depth whereof manifoldly exceedeth the length, and they proceed.

3 Not by file but by ranke.] That is, the file-leaders being wheeled to the flanke, after they haue settled themselves to march, proceed on their journey as they stand in the flanke, onely facing that way the march is intended, and returne not to lead in the front of the battaile, as they did at first. To lead by file is, when the file-leaders proceede, and haue their files following at their backe. To lead by ranke is, when that which was the flanke at first, becommeth the front, and beginneth the march, and the rest follow accordingly flanke-wise: yet this is to be noted, that albeit the front of the battaile be changed in the deduction, yet remaine the files, files as they were before, and are not altered into ranks. Ælian himselfe giueth testimony hereto, affirming that the Phalange proceedeth not by file, but by ranke, whereas if the files held not their first name after wheeling to the right or left flank, the march forward (the file-leaders being in the flanke) should be by file and not by ranke.

4. For the phalange marcheth in a double, treble, or quadruple side.] A double-sided battaile is that, which hath the file-leaders on both the flanks, the rest backe to backe within, when the enemy giueth on. For otherwise, when they march forward, all their faces are set one way, that is toward the place whether the march is intended. A treble-sided battaile is, when three sides of the battaile are to be charged, whether the front and both the flanks, or both the flanks and the reare, or the reare, one of the flanks and the front, and the file-leaders are ordered on all the three sides. A quadruple battaile is, when the file-leaders are placed in front in the reare and in both the flanks. An example of the quadruple battaile will shew the vse and framing of the rest: for as the rest oppose one, two, or three sides against the enemy, so the quadruple fortifieth and strengthneth all the foure sides, by placing the file-leaders in them. Of ordering the file-leaders vpon one flanke, deduction may be an example; vpon both flanks, the Antistomus phalange vpon front
and

darts from the mountains: other running out of the other gates in good numbers fell upon the reare of the Lacedæmonians, who being ordered but 8 deep, and thinking the reare of the Phalange to be but weak, endeavoured to retire and fall off. The enemy no sooner saw them give ground but presently fell on more eagerly, imagining they fled: neither did they turne their faces any more, and they who stood next unto them fought with all speed to save themselves by flight. Mnatippus could give no aid to his distressed souldiers by reason hee was hardly laid to by the Corcireans, that came to hands with him; and his number by little and little decreased: at last the enemy in great numbers pressed them fore that stood about Mnatippus, who were now reduced to a very few. And the armed foot of the City seeing what was done abroad, issued out, and after they had slaine Mnatippus, they followed the chase all of them together. Thus Xenophon. And thus you may see *τάδεα* in the singular number taken for the reare of the Phalange, howsoever *τάδεα* in the plural, signifieth the flanks. The Antistomus Phalange therefore differing from the Amphistomus in this only, because the last maintaines fight in front and reare, the first in both flanks, and Ælian in this Chapter describing the battell which maintaines the fight in the flanks, it seemeth that the inscription ought to be of the Phalange Antistomus, and that the text ought to be *τοὺς ὤμους* and not *ἐξ ὧν*. It may after a sort appear by Ælian himselfe in the next Chapter, where making a difference betwixt these two battailes, he saith plainly, that the Antistomus fighteth *ἐν ὤμοις*. Read then in the text, *Τὸς ἐν τοῖς ὤμοις ποιεῖται ἡ μάχη* against the enemy, in stead of these words: *Τὸς ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι ποιεῖται ἡ μάχη*, and all the rest will agree to the Phalange Antistomus.

3. *It is of great use*] The use of this battaile is principally against horse, as Ælian giueth to vnderstand, because they are quick and speedy, and can suddenly turne, diuide themselves, and charge where they list. And the flanks of the battell being the weakest part (for your best men are placed in the front and reare) it is needfull to finde out some meanes to defend them, which is to instruct your Souldiers how to receiue the charge by turning their faces to the flanks. In front you are alwaies ready; because faces and weapons are bent that way. Effect the like in the flanks, and you shall be able to resist any charge of the enemy. For foot, the danger is not so great, because your men shall be able to face every way, as readily as the enemy; give them only exercise, and acquaint them with that manner of fight.

4. *And principally practised against the Barbarians.*] That it was much used amongst the Grecians I find not in their history: yet is there no doubt, but the use may be great in it as well as in the Amphistomus. But I take the reason, why it was seldome put in practise, to be, because the flanks of pikes in the Grecian battell were for the most part, guarded with horse and light-armed. The front and reare hauing no such defence, were commonly attacked by the enemy, seeking all aduantage to distress them; and in case the horse and light-armed bee absent, the flanks are the fairest marke of the enemy, which can by no other meanes be secured, but by facing that way where he giueth on; which may be euidently seene by the fight Cyrus the elder had against Cræsus, which example you shall see set out in my notes vpon the 46. Chap. page 79.

5. *Those are broad squares*] That which I heere translate a broad square, is in the Greeke Heteromakes; of which forme I haue spoken in notes vpon the 30. Chapter.

Words

ὁ δὲ στρατός
ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι
ἐστὶν ὡς
ὁ δὲ στρατός
ἐστὶν ὡς

ὁ δὲ στρατός
ἐστὶν ὡς
ὁ δὲ στρατός
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1:84. C.
Suda with
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quid- a lxxxvii
no. also ch. cap. 12. p.
that 8 App. in Thuc.
drab. 11

As Druball the Carthaginian sought to entrap Scipio, giving Mago his general of the horse commandment to charge Scipio, his army in front, whilst himselfe charge d it in the rear. But Scipio turning the reare of his battell against Asdruball, and opposing the front of it against Mago, ouerthrew them both, and slew 5000 Carthaginians, and tooke 1800 prisoners. To make the manner of fight in this forme more plaine, I thought fit to insert an hystory or two out of Polybius and Arrian, as examples to illustrate that meaning of Ælian. In Polybius this is the hystory. The Gauls in great multitudes vnder the conduct of Coneritanus and Anercostus their Kings, transcending the Alpes, and passing thorough Lombardy, and falling upon a part of Hetrucia, had gathered rich spoiles out of that territory, and being now upon returne to their country, they were pursued by one of the Roman Consuls L. Æmilius, and his army, not with intent to fight with them (for hee held it not safe) but to observe fit times and places to distresse them, or else to keep them from further spoile. At the same time C. Attilius the other Consul having imbarcked his legions in Sardinia, and setting saile for Italy arrived at Pisa, and holding his way toward Rome marched directly in the way in which the enemy was coming. The Celts being now about Telamon, a promontory of Hetrucia, their foragers fell into the hands of the Panturcers of Attilius, and were taken prisoners; they informed the Consul of all that hapned, and signified the presence of both armies; telling that the Gauls were at bano, and that L. Æmilius followed them close in their reare. Attilius partly marvailling at the strangenesse of the newes, and partly being full of good hope, because the Gauls seemed to be surpris'd and hemmed in betwixt two armies, commanded the Tribunes to order his legions in a broad-front, and so to lead on leasurably, as long as the ground would give leave: himselfe in good time discovering a hill which hung over the way, in which the Gauls were to passe, took with him the horse, and fought with all speed to seize upon the top of it, and to begin the medly, conceiving thereby to have the honour and title of the whole service ascribed to him: the Gauls were at first ignorant of Attilius approaching, but conjectured only that it might be Æmilius had led his horse about in the night to seize upon some place: they sent therefore their horse and light-armed to beat the Romans from the hill: but some understanding by some captives that Attilius was there, they presently embattailed, ordering their army into two fronts, the one before, the other behinde; for they knew that one army was following, and they expected as well by the newes they heard, as by that which they saw fall out at that time, that the other would meet them upon their march: Æmilius heard that the legions of Attilius were arrived at Pisa, but could not imagine they were come so neere; but after that by the sight about the hill, he perceived certainly they were at hand, he sent out his horse to second those that fought for the hill, himselfe ordering his battels after the Roman wonted fashion, led on against the enemy. The Celts embattailed those that are called Gesates, and dwelt in the Alpes, against Æmilius, who they imagined would charge the reare, and next to them the Insabrians. In the front they set the Tauriscans and Boians (inhabiting beyond the river Po) turning their faces a contrary way to the former, and opposed to the access of Caius Attilius, the waines and waggons they placed without both wings, and sent their pray gained to a hill thereby, appointing a sufficient guard to keepe it. So the Amphibolus, a phalange, which the Celts call themselves into, was not only fearfulfull to the eye, but also fitly ordered for fight. The Insabrians and Boians came forth to fight wearing bristles & a kind of loose and light coats; but the Gesates out of a vainglorie, and a shew of cast them away, and stood naked, seeing that they had their armies alone in the front of the battell, imagining they were by that meanes fitter for action,

by reason of the bushes of the place, which would catch hold of any garment, and be a hinderance to the use of armes. The first fight was about the hill in the sight of all, by reason that the multitude of so many horse-men out of both armies were mingled together in fight; wherein it happened Attilius to be slain (while too venturously he offered himselfe to danger) and his head to be presented to the Kings of the Celts, but yet the Roman horse-men bravely fighting, because masters of the place, and of the enemy: After this the foot joining, the accident was rare and marvellous not onely to them which were present, but also to all those, who can by reading represent before their eyes the truth of it which was done. For first the fight being attacked by 3 armies, it must needs be that the very fight in a manner of the conflict appeared strange and without example; secondly, who would not doubt either now or then, whether the Celts manner of embattailing were more dangerous, the enemy charging them in two places at once, or the best and aptest for victory, as opposing against both the enemies at once, and withall securin; themselves from encompassing and invasion of the reare: and which is of most importance, no hope being left of safety, if they should chance to be foyled. For that is the propriety and profit of the Amphibolus battaile, it made the Romans more confident, to have the enemy enclosed on all sides, and yet the braucry and noyse and tumult of the Celts gave them cause of astonishment; For there was an invincible multitude of Trumpets and Shalmes, to which the whole army together adding the Pean, the cry was so great, that not onely the trumpets and army, but the places round about with their rebounding echoes seemed of themselves to praise. Further more, the sight an motion of the naked men thus stood in the front, being in flower of their age, and excellin; in stature of stature, was fearfulfull. Now all the Gauls that bid by front were adorned with bracelets and chains of gold; which the Romans eyeing were partly affraid, partly being filled with rich hopes, were incited much the rather to toyne basely; but when the darters running out of the Roman army according to their custome, threw in many and terrible darts at the Celts, the Celts of the reare found good use of their coats and breeches, but those that fought naked in the front, this accident happening contrary to their expectation, were troubled out of measure and wonderfully perplexed: for the Gauls target being not of sufficiency to cover a mans body, the greater and nakeder their bodies were, the more were they subject to wound, and the lesse the weapons mist the mark. At the last, being not able to save themselves from the light-arms, who plied them a farre off, nor from the multitude of darts that fell among them, and being troubled and confus'd with their present state, some of the wout of a rage and brutish rage ranne vainly upon the enemy, and willingly offered themselves to slaughter, other retiring leasurably to their friends, and shewing manifest tokens of feare, disorderd them behinde. Thus the Roman light-armed alid the pride of the Gesates. But the multitude of the Insabrians, Boians, and Tauriscans, after the Romans had received their light-armed into their battell, and advanced the cohorts, (of armed) to toyne hand to hand, maintained a stout fight, and albeit they received many wounds, yet fainted they not in mind: being onely inferior both generally and particularly in the kind of armes they bore. For both their targets in defence, and their swords in offence, had a great difference; by reason the Gauls sword is only fit to strike withall. But when the Roman horse from the hill basted downe in wing, and stoutly came to hand strokes with them, the foot-men of the Celts were cut in pieces in the places where they fought, and the horse took themselves to flight: There dyd therefore of the Celts 30000, and 10000 were take prisoners, among whom was Concolitan one of the Kings, the other K. Anercostus, flying to a certaine place with a few, killed

himselfe and his friends that were about him. This example hath *Polibius* of the Amphitomis Phalange; wherein he both sheweth the form, and the vie of it, namely, that it hath a front both waies to receiue the enemies charge before and in the reare. * *Arrian* hath another example in the battaile between *Alexander* the Great and *Porus* a king of India; his words are to this effect. *Alexander* was now come within the reach of misine weapons, when he sent his Archers on horsebacke against the left wing of the Indians, to molest the enemy on that side, both with multitude of arrows, and with incurfion of the horse: and himselfe also having with him the troupes of Companies, stirring on against the same wing, using all celerity to fall upon them (who were yet out of order and in a wing) before they could reduce themselves into a Phalange. In the meane time the Indians knitting together their whole power of horse, made head against *Alexander* with all speed, giving their horse a full carriere. Then *Cæsus*, as was commanded, shewed himselfe at their backs. The Indians seeing this, were forced to order their horse in an Amphitomis, opposing one part (the most and strongest) to *Alexander*, the other to *Cæsus* and his troops; which thing troubled the array and mindes of the Indians. And *Alexander*, taking hold of the opportunity, charged those which were opposed to him in the flank, while the other were facing about to *Cæsus*. The Indians endured not the charge, but fled to the Elephants, as to a castle that was friend. Hitherto *Arrian*. In these two examples is lively set forth the nature and fashion of the Amphitomis phalange. And albeit both the parties that used it were beaten, yet the cause reflected not in the forme, but in the valour of them that fought against it, if the Romans in one example, of *Alexander* in the other, *Alexander* himselfe using this very forme in the battel of * *Gaugamela*, obtained the famous victory against *Darius*, which is described by *Arrian* in his third book, as did *Alfo Scipio* against *Asdrubal* in Spaine: so then by that which hath bene said, the difference betweene the Antitomis and Amphitomis phalange may easily appeare; which albeit they either of them fight against the enemy in two places of the Phalange at once, and are like or e to another in that respect, yet they differ in the places of the fight, the one receiuing the charge in both the flanks, other in front and reare. They are both defensive & statary, and if moue with you either of them during the charge of the enemy, you presently break the form, and lay the backe of the foldiers open to be annoied, especially if the enemy ouertop you in number: otherwise it will be no inconuenient to diuide the battell, and to fight apart with both; For that the Antitomis may be diuided, *Eliau* teacheth in the next Chapter: for the Amphitomis, hee saith the like in this Chapter in these words.

3 And also being diuided into a Diphallange. A Diphallange is when a Phalange is diuided into two, and being in one body, it is called a Phalange, in two bodies a Diphallange. About the Diphallange, Amphitomis there is variance amongst the writers of this Art. *Eliau* would haue it to bee framed of a Phalange Amphitomis disioyned, and in the midst diuided into two parts: so that the fore-front is made with one of the hinder front with the other Phalange. The Treatise of Military Appellations, annexed to the end of *Suidas* saith, that that is a Diphallange Amphitomis, which hath the file-leaders on the outsidés of both the flanks in a deduction, and the bringers vp within. I take *Eliau* to be in the right; for if the Amphitomis Phalange must haue the front and reare opposed to the enemy, what reason is there why the Amphitomis Diphallange should not be of the same nature, consisting

a *Arrian* lib. 5. c. 12.
A

a *Arrian* lib. 3. c. 6.
b App. in punctis
Pag. 7.

dering, that the Diphallange Antitomis hath the leaders, in the flanks, as the Phalange Antitomis hath: which appeareth not only in the next Chapter, but also in diuers other places of this Booke: neither doe I reade any where, that the Antitomis hath to do with the front and reare, nor the Amphitomis with the flanks.

The words of direction in the Amphitomis.

- 1 Halfe files, face about to the right or left hand.
- 2 Charge the Pikes both waies in front and reare.

To restore to the first Posture.

- 1 Advance your Pikes.
- 2 Halfe files, face as you were.

The hinder

The hindermost

Of the Diphallange Antitomis.

CHAP. XXXX.



Diphallange Antitomis, is that which hath the file-leaders placed not in a deduction outwardly, but inwardly face to face one against another, and the reare-Commanders without, one halfe in right, the other halfe in a left deduction. This forme is used against Horse, which giue on and charge wedge-wise: for the wedge shooting forth in a point, and having the Commanders following in the flanks, and endeavouring to disseuer and breake the Front of the foot, the Leaders of the foot foreseeing their purpose, place themselves in the midst, with intent either to repulse them, or else to giue them a thorow passage without losse. For the wedge flieth vp on the foote in hope to charge the multitude in the midst; and the foot Commanders conceiuing well the fury of that forme, leaue a little space betwixt the 2 fronts, and stand like wallies on both sides, and ioynently facing toward the midst, giue them a fruitlesse and empty passage. This forme of Horse battaile is called by the Tacticks a wedge, which was invented by *Philip* King of Macedony, who placed his best men before, that by them the weaker fort might be held in & enabled to the charge. As we see in a Spere or sword, the point whereof quickly piercing, makes way for, and letteth in the middle blunt yron.

NOTES.

A *Diphallange Antitomis*.] This Diphallange is thus defined by *Suidas*: *Suidas*, in A *Diphallange Antitomis* is that, which hath the file-leaders placed in the midst, and the bringers vp ordered without on both flanks in deductions: which words differ a little in speech, in sense are all one with *Eliau*. They both agree that the file-leaders should be placed within the midst of the battaile face to face in deductions, the bringers vp on the flanks without. In the text, and in fashioning of the battaile, there is no difficulty. The file-leaders must be

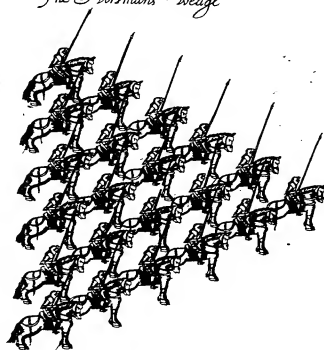
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himselfe and his friends that were about him. This example hath Polybius of the Amphictomus Phalange; wherein he both sheweth the form, and the vie of it, namely, that it hath a *front* both waies to receiue the enemies charge before and in the reare. * Arrian hath another example in the battaile between A-

a Arrian lib. 5. 112. *lexa*
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The Horsemans Wedge

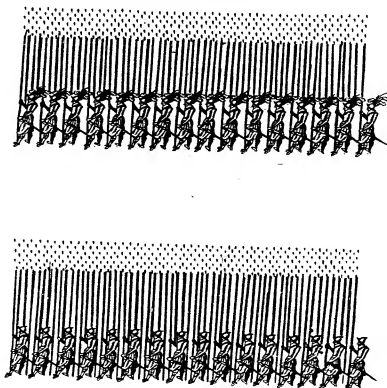


Front

dering that the Diphalangy Antistomus hath the leaders, in the flanks, as the Phalange Antistomus hath: which appeareth not only in the next Chapter, but also in diuers other places of this Booke: neither doe I reade any where, that the Antistomus hath to do with the front and reare, nor the Am-

Cap. 40.

A Diphalange Antistomus

S. Suidas, in
Diphalangy

himselfe and his friends that were about him. This example hath Polybius of the Amphistomus Phalange; wherein he both sheweth the form, and the vse of it, namely, that it hath a front both waies to receive the enemies charge before and in the reare. * Arrian hath another example in the battaile between Alexander the Great and Porus a king of India; his words are to this effect: *Alexander was now come within the reach of misive weapons, when he sent his Archers on horsebacke against*

a. Arrian lib. 5. 113.

desiring that the Diphalangy Antistomus hath the leaders, in the flanks, as the Phalange Antistomus hath: which appeareth not only in the next Chapter, but also in diuers other places of this Booke: neither doe I reade any where, that the Antistomus hath to do with the front and reare, nor the Amphistomus with the flanks.

no

The words of direction in the Amphistomus.

The hinder

- 1 Halfe files, face about to the right or left hand.
- 2 Charge the Pikes both waies in front and reare.

To retire to the first posture.

- 1 Advance your Pikes.
- 2 Halfe files, face as you were.

Of the Diphalange Antistomus.

CHAP. XXXX.



Diphalange Antistomus, is that which hath the file-leaders placed not in a deduction outwardly, but inwardly face to face one against another, and the reare-Commanders without, one halfe in right, the other halfe in a left deduction. This forme is vsed against Horse, which giue on and charge wedge-wise for the wedge shooting forth in a point, and hauing the Commanders following in the flanks, and intending to disface and breake the Front of the foot, the Leaders of the foot foreseeing their purpose, place themselves in the midst, with intent either to repulse them, or else to giue them a thorow passage without losse. For the wedge flieth vpon the foeke in hope to charge the multitude in the midst; and the foot Commanders conceiuing well the fury of that forme, leave a little space betwixt the fronts, and stand like wallies on both sides; and ioyntly facing toward the midst, giue them a fruitlesse and empty passage. This forme of Horse battaile is called by the Tacticks a wedge, which was invented by Philip King of Macedony, who placed his best men before, that by the weaker sort might be held in & enabled to the charge. As we see in a Spear, or sword, the point whereof quickly piercing, makes way for, and letteth in the middle blunt yron.

NOTES.

A *Diphalange Antistomus*. This Diphalange is thus defined by Suidas: *Suidas. A Diphalange Antistomus is that, which hath the file-leaders placed in the midst, and the bringers vp ordered without on both flanks in deductions*; which words differ a little in speech, in sense are all one, with *Antistomus*. They both agree that the file-leaders should be placed within the midst of the battaile face to face in deductions, the bringers vp on the flanks without. In the next point, in fashioning of the battaile, there is no difficulty. The file-leaders must be placed

conceiue not, vnlesse he should seeme to make *Alian* contrary to him selfe. For the Amphistomus Diphalance hath nothing to doe with the flanks, as appeareth by *Alian* in the 34 Chapter. This Diphalance fighteth altogether in flanke, as the description declaredth.

The Phalanges of the Diphalance Peristomus. What a wing is, and what deduction I haue shewed before. The meaning is, that the Phalanges Peristomus are both of them led obliquely (with the file-leaders in flanke) and in two deepe bodies; whereof the one hath in purpose to charge the right flanke, the other the left flanke of the aduersie square battaile.

The oblique deduction on the right hand. Albeit both these Phalanges are called oblique, yet we may not imagine, that these Loxe-phalanges are the same that is described in the 30 Chapter. For in that one of the Phalange forbear the fight, the other aduanceth to ioyne with the enemy; in this both fight at once, and haue their aduantage by charging the flanks of the enemy. That began the fight in front & had there the file-leaders, this in both flanks; this seeks to encompassse, that to auoid encompassing it selfe, as I haue shewed in my notes vpon the same Chapter.

The oblique deduction on the right-hand, hauing the file-leaders without. I must imagine, till further information, that here is a fault in the text: my reason is this; all *deduction* are made to oppose the file-leaders against the enemy in fight. So is the right-hand *deduction* vied, when it is suspected the enemy will charge the right-hand flanke: the left-hand Deduction, when it is suspected he will charge the left; so in wheelings we turne the front against the enemy, so in countermarches. Now this forme being inuented to encompassse the enemy, and to fight vpon his flanks; I would thinke the file-leaders ought to be placed on the inward flanks of the Diphalance; as it is in the *Calembolos*; for were the bringers up to be within, they should sustaine all the weight of the fight, the battaile being once diuided; and the file-leaders standing without should idly looke on; which is contrary to the military discipline of the Grecians, whose care was to vse the file-leaders in fight as much as was possible. Neither is it thereupon to be concluded, that this Diphalance and the Diphalance Antistomus are all one. For although both haue their file-leaders within, yet doe they differ both in forme and end. In forme, because this moueth forward with both Phalanges, the other standeth still: this is oblique, the other in a straight line; that hath the front of the two phalanges euen, this (as it falleth out in the motion) sometimes the one more forward; sometimes the other. In their ends, because this goeth to assault and to breake the enemies battaile, the other standeth fast and seeks onely to save it selfe, the one being offensive, the other defensive. So that, as I said before, the *Calembolos* and this are both framed out of the Diphalance Antistomus, both hauing their file-leaders within the midst of the battaile; and yet differ in that the *Calembolos* is but one body hollowed within this diuided into two bodies.

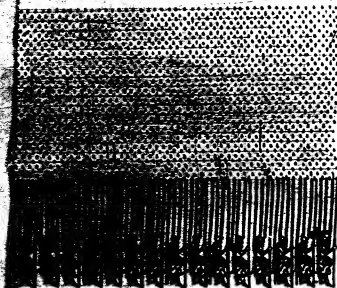
And they fearing to be enclosed. The case of this square is almost all one with the square against which the *Calembolos* is opposed: For both are in danger to be enclosed. Now as the other square was faine to cast it selfe into a *Triphalange*, and to oppose two of the phalanges against the two wings of the *Calembolos*, reseruing the third for all accidents; so this square diuideth it selfe into two phalanges (but hath no third) facing the one against the right-

Ælii. lib. 1. c.
Tact. Sic. 1. 609.

right-hand battaile of the Peristomus, the other against the left; for by this opposition they inhibit the enemy from attaching their flanks. Of this forme I finde not many *presidents* in the Greeke history; I will recite one ly one out of *Arrian* concerning *Alexander*, which if it hit not this forme in euery point, yet it hath fully the effect of that which is intended by *Ælian*: *Alexander* being to deliuer battaile to *Porus* a King of part of India, lying on the other side of the river Hydaspes, found his enemies army to be thus embattailed: He had placed his Elephants in the front 100 foot distant one from another, and he placed them there to give terror to *Alexanders* Horse: for hee imagined that no enemy durst approach the spaces betwixt the Elephants, neither with Horse for feare of the Elephants, and much lesse with foot, because the armed on his side were there to receive them, and the Elephants would tread and trample them under their feet. Next he ordered the foot, not in an equal front with the beasts, but in a second front after them, so that the files came up almost to the spaces betwixt the Elephants; besides, he added foot upon the wings about the Elephants. On both the wings of the foot he ordered his Horse, and before them his Chariots. This was the embattailing of *Porus*. *Alexander* as soone as he saw the Indians stand in battaile array, caused his Horse to make alie, that he might haue his foot come up, who advanced still forward. And when the Phalange was come vnto him running, he embattailed it not presently, nor forthwith led it against the enemy, lest he should deliuer it weary and out of breath into the hands of the Barbarians, that were fresh but tiring and riding here and there in rounds with his Horse, he reiled his foot, and gaue them time to refresh themselves. And after he beheld the Indian manner of Embattailing, hee thought it not good to giue vpon the middest (of the front) where the Elephants stood, and the Phalange was close ordered against the spaces of the Elephants, fearing the reasons wher led *Porus* to embattaille in that forme. But, as he was stronger in horse, taking to him the most of his Horse, he preceded to the left wing of the enemy, in purpose to giue on there, and sent *Cœnus* with *Demetrius* his troope and his owne troope against the right wing; commanding him, that when the Barbarians seeing his troopes, should surue their strength of Horse against him, *Cœnus* should invade their backs. He gaue the Phalange to *Seleucus*, *Antigones* and *Tauron* to lead; commanding them not to all on, before they saw the enemies foot and horse put into a bransle by his Horse. What the euent of the fight was, I haue before shewed in my notes vpon the Phalange *Amphistomus*, where I haue cited the latter end of this history. Now may be seene by this example, that *Alexander* began the fight not in the front, but in the flanks; and the cause why he did it, was, because the front was exceeding strong by reason of the Elephants. And by this meanes defeating first the enemies Horse, then his foot, he left the Elephants naked, and without defence against the darts and other misliue weapons of the Macedonians, and gained a worthy victory against a strong enemy. Now albeit this example come not home in all points to the *Peristomus* (for *Ælian* limiteth it to foot against foot, this fight was betwixt Horse and Horse) yet is the reason of warre alike in both. For as the file-leaders of the *Peristomus* giue on vpon the flanke of the aduerser square, which is the weakest part of it; so did the Horse of *Alexander* surmounting the Indians both in number and valor, giue on vpon the flanks of *Porus* his army which was weakest, and so began and ended the victory.

It is called *Peristomus*, as having the front bent. That is, being diuided into halfe, the one Phalange marching obliquely, commeth vp and chargeth one flanke

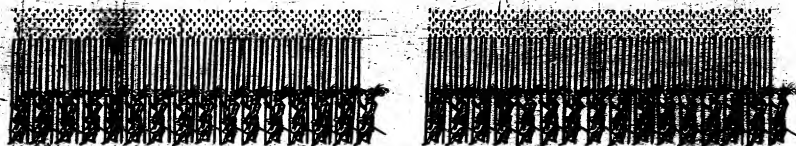
The Battail called Phalanx



The front

Cap 42

The Diphallange Hymanostomus



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flanke of the aduerse battaile, the other chargeth the other, and so haith the fronts against the enemies both waies.

Words of direction in the Peristomus.

- 1 Wheele your front into the middest of the battaile.
- 2 Face to the front.
- 3 One wing march out obliquely, and charge the right flanke of the enemy, the other the left flanke.

Of the Diphallange homoistomus, and of the Plinthium.

CHAP. XLII.



Diphallange (1) Homoistomus is so named, because a (2) whole file (that is 16 men) moving by it selfe; another file followeth it: and it is therefore called Homoistomus, because they that follow, follow in a like figure.

3 This kind is opposed against the Plinthium; (4) Plinthium is a forme of battaile, that hath the sides equall both in figure and number. In figure, because the distances are euery where equall. In number, because there are as many men in length as in depth. (5) In this foure-sided battaile are none in the foure sides but armed, without archer or slinger to helpe: when therefore two Phalanges march together, and both haue their leaders in a right-hand or left-handed deduction, it is called a Diphallange Homoistomus.

NOTES.

Homoistomus is a Diphallange, the battailes whereof haue like fronts. To this forme is incident, first that it be marching, then that it march in deductions; lastly, that the deductions be vpon one and the selfe, and not vpon contrary sides, viz. that the file-leaders of the Phalanges, be all of them either vpon the right hand, or vpon the left hand of their Phalanges. And therefore *Suidas* defineth it to be a Diphallange, which hath the leaders of either phallange ordered in the same side of the march. Where he saith that the leaders are ordered on the same side in both Phalanges (which words are likewise in *Alian* in the end of the Chapter) wee must vnderstand not the leaders of the March, but the file-leaders, who are also called *sygones*, or leaders: For as *Alian* saith elsewhere, the march in a Deduction proceedeth in wing not by file but by ranke, so that the file-leaders are in the flanks not in the front of the march; and yet a man may truly tearme it the front of the battaile, as long as it standeth and faceth against the enemy.

2 Because a whole file. I am out of doubt that this place is corrupted: any man that marketh the coherence will easily be of mine opinion. The inscription is of a Diphallange, which consisteth of two phalanges. The cause why this forme is called a Diphallange, Homoistomus, is in these words assigned to be, because a whole file, that is, 16 men moving, another file followeth it.

The Tactics of Aelian, or

let one file follow another, what is that to two Phalanges? Euery Phalange hath many files in it, as the * seventh Chapter will teach vs; nor will any man say that a file is a phalange, nor that the following of one file singly after the other will make a Diphalance: the truer cause is alleadged in the words following: It is therefore called Homoiofotomus, because they that follow, follow in the like figure: which words albeit they be generally, yet being explained and particularised in the end of the Chapter, they shew, that it is called a Diphalance Homoiofotomus when two phalanges follow one another, either in a right, or a left hand deduction. And by that part of the text the nature of the Homoiofotomus is sufficiently expressed.

¶ A square battail of men and ground both.

3 This is opposed against the Plinthium. ¶ How this forme should be opposed against the Plinthium, I must confesse I yet vnderstand not, vnlesse it be that being in a march, the Plinthium charge one of them on that side where the deduction, (that is in the front, for the flanke is now become the front) (the file-leader facing to the enemy that way) and the other if it be the leading phalange retiring & whealing, the following file aduancing and whealing giue vpon the flank of the Plinthium, so that the Plinthium be charged both in front and in flanke, which is no small aduantage in fight; for otherwise if the Plinthium meet the Phalanges so following one another, and charge the front which leadeth (which indeed is not the front but the leading flanke, in as much as the march proceedeth not by file but by ranke, as Aelian hath) the deduction not onely loseth the benefit of bringing the file-leaders to fight, but is also subiect to ouerwinging, and by that means in worse case then is the induction which hath the file-leaders in front. There are other vses of the Homoiofotomus, then are here specified by Aelian. For the Deduction directing the front against the enemy that appeareth, or is like to appeare on the flank of the deduction, the phalanges may fitly second one another, when either of them is charged, not vnlike the two battalions of field or Champaign. And if both the deductions be charged at once, they are at no greater inconuenience, then if they stood ranged in ordinary manner, being either of them as deepe, and the fronts which are in the deduction ready to receiue the assault of the enemy, and the rest of the limmes disposed, as in the ordinary Phalange.

Le Moir's Second Phalans.

4 Plinthium is a form of battail. This definition comprehendeth not all Plinthiums, for there is a kind of euē-sided Plinthium (it is called *πλινθιον*), which hath the front & flanks of one length: and it is it which Aelian here defineth. There is also a kind of Plinthium that is deeper in flank then the front is long, which of ancient time was called *πυργος* in greece, in english a tower, the name of Plinthium is deriued from *πλινθος*, a brick, because as the bricks square, so is this battail, which is the reason I thinke, that it is often confounded with Plesium, this being also a square battail, and the name deduced from the mould wherein bricks are fashioned, which mould is called in greece *πλινθιον* to forme. The difference betwixt them according to Aelian is, that the Plinthium is a perfect square equal both in length and depth, the Plesium a square longer in front then flanke.

5 In this figure are none but armed in the foresides. ¶ What then becomes of the light-armed? they must be conuaued into the midst; and the Plinthium ought to be hollow within as well to receiue them, as those of the army that

are

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

are vsnt for fight. Leo hath this precept: If the enemy be horse, you are to order the army into the square figure of a Plinthium, and cast into the (hollow) midst the carriage, beasts and carriage, and without them the armed, and furthest without the archers, that so you may dismarch in safety; yet this placing the archers without is contrary to Aelian, & to many experiences mentioned in the Greeke history. ¶ Timotheus the Athenian purposing to passe by the City Olynthus, and fearing the Olynthian horse-men, ordered his army into a broad-fronted Plinthium, casting the baggage and horse into the midst, and causing the waggons to be driven thronging, and fastned together, the armed foot being without on all sides; so that the Olynthian horse could not come to distresse them. Bridas the Lacedemonian being to Illyria forsoke of the Macedonians his allies, expecting to be set vpon by Arrhybeus the Illyrian, reduced his armed into a square, and taking the light-armed into the midst, resolved to retire: the youngest he appointed to fall on if the enemy and to resist him selfe with 300 chosen men took vpon him to secure the reare, and to resist the enemy that should first come to charge. The Barbarians seeing him and cut his throat: but when the light-armed fell out and met them, wherefore they gaue on and him selfe with his selected band receiued them, and contrary to their opinion stood firme, and repulsed the first charge, and euer as they forbore to charge held on his way: the most part of the Barbarians left the Grecians, and appointed a party to follow their reare, the rest pursued the Macedonians that fled, by the captains of Eumenes and Peucestes against a surpris of Antigonus. Diodorus Siculus reporteth the history thus: Antigonus being aduertised, that all Eumenes his forces were come vnto him but onely his Elephants, and that the Elephants were expelled out of their garrison and were farre off alone, and without ayde of horse and foot, sent against them 10000 sp. armed in being: Meda, 3000 Tarsentines, and all his light-armed foot: for hee hoped that falling vpon the Elephants alone, hee might easily become master of them, and priue his enemy of his greatest strength. Eumenes casting in his minde what might happen, dispatched away 1500 of his best horse, and 300 light armed foot. Antigonus people appearing first, the commanders of the Elephants ordering the beasts into a Plinthium, marched forward, throwing the carriage into the midst, leaving 300 horse and no more to make head in the reare; the enemy falling on with all their might, and boldly charging, the horse being overlaid with number, were put to flight. The riders of Elephants at first made good resistance and stood to it, albeit they were wounded on all sides, and not able to hurt the enemy; and being now at the last cast the forces of Eumenes unexpectedly shewing themselves, snatched them out of all danger and distresse. Aelian vied this forme against the Thebans; the Argirapides against Antigonus: the history is this: Antigonus hauing the better against the horse of Eumenes, diuided his horse into two parts, the one hee tooke to himselfe and obserued Eumenes, the other hee gaue to Ptochus willing him to charge the Argirapides and silver targeteers old soldiers of Alexander: deuiued of the aide of the horse, but they calling the miselus into a Plinthium retired safely to the river. Aelian remembreth nothing concerning the vse of the Plinthium: But wee may learne by the examples rehearsed, that it was then practised when the enemy was too strong and able to charge euer way; and it is one of the foretold battalies that is mentioned in the 36 & 37 Chap. and vied principally against horse, but sometimes against horse and foot. Philip

Diad. Syriac. lib. 16. p. 51. the father of Alexander the Great, being to take arms against the Illyrians who usurped many Cities of his kingdom, leuied 10000 foot, & 600 horse, and with them entered the enemies country. Bardilis the Illyrian King met him with as many foot, and 500 horse: when the armies came together, and with hours ioynd battaile, Philip hearing the right wing, and the best Macedonian souldiers, commanded the horse to fall on and charge the enemy in flanke: himselfe giuing vpon the front, began a strong fight. The Illyrians ordering themselves into a Plinthium, valiantly abode the onset; and at the first the fight was equall, and so continued a good while, by reason of the valour (shewn on both sides), after ward the horse plying hard the reare and flanke, and Philip with his choice men valiantly laying at the front, the multitude of the Illyrians were forced to fly. Here the Plinthium resisted both horse and foot: I will ad one example more of repulsing horse, the army being cast into a Plinthium. Marcus Antonius seeking to subdue Persia, and to reuenge the losse which Cræsus received by the Parthians, (for in that warre Cræsus himselfe was slaine, and his army defeated) and having laid siege to a great City called Phreata, and finding not the success he looked for, determined to dis-march and lead his army out of the Countrey, having first made truce with the King of Persia, proceeding on his iourney, he was set vpon by the Parthians, but being repulsed, they retreated that day. Antonius hereby resolved what to doe: and strengthening his reare and flanks with many darters & singlers, he formed his army into a Plinthium, and willed his horse to fall out and repulse the enemy, but not to follow the chase too farre. The Parthians the next foure daies began to be more coole, and neither charged nor were charged, and making winter their pretence, were glad to retire to their houses. By this president, wee may see, that the Parthians (who were mighty in horse) were fierce vpon the Romans as long as they held their ordinary kinde of march, but after they had ordered themselves into a Plinthium, so that the Parthians could not come vp to them without much indangering themselves, they thought it best to let them quietly passe and goe whither they would. And thus much of the Di-phalange Homoiotomus and of the Plinthium.

Asiatick Persiæ lib. 16. p. 51.
Philip in Antonius.

Words of direction in the Homoiotomus.

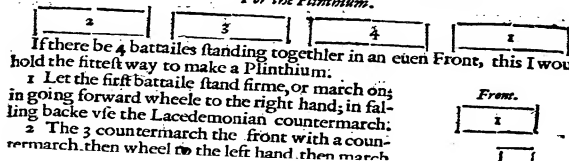
- 1 Wheele your battailes (if they stand in euen front) to the right or left hand.
- 2 March one battaile after the other.

To restore to the first Posture.

- 1 Face about to the right or left hand.
- 2 Wheele the battailes to the right or left hand, according as the case requireth.
- 3 Face as you were at first.

FIN

For the Plinthium.



Diphalange Heterotomus is that which proceedeth by deduction, on, hauing the leaders of the former Phalange in a right-hand deduction, and of the following Phalange in a left-hand Deduction, so that the battailes march countchangeably, one hauing the leaders in one flanke, the other in the other:

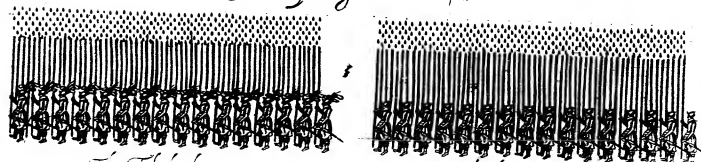
NOTES.

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Diad. Syen. lib. 16. the father of Alexander the Great, being to take armes against the Illyrians who v-
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 tred the enemies countrey. Bardilis the Illyrian King met him vi. b as many foot, and
 500 horse: when the armies came together, and with shouts ioyned battaile, Philip
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 fall on and charge the enemy in flanke: himselfe giuing upon the front, began a strong
 fight. The Illyrians ordering themselves into a Plinthum, valiantly abode the onset;
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 Philip with his chosen men valiantly leuina at the front the multitude of the Illyrians

Cap. 43.

The Diphalance Heterostomus

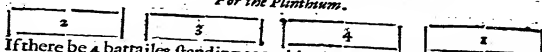


3 Face as you were at first.

For

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

For the Plinthum.



If there be 4 battalions standing together in an even Front, this I would hold the fittest way to make a Plinthum.

1 Let the first battaile stand firme, or march on; in going forward wheele to the right hand; in falling backe vñe the Lacedemonian countermarch:

2 The 3 countermarch the front with a countermarch, then wheele to the left hand, then march forward, and place it selfe behind the right hand flanke of the first, that the Front of it may be in a right line with the said flanke.

3 The 4 in going forward, countermarch the reare with a Macedon countermarch, then wheele your battaile to the right hand, face about; then wheele to the left hand; then march and apply it selfe to the point of the first battaile, as the third did to the right: then face about, and stand thus:

4 The 2 countermarch to the right or left hand: then march on til it be beyond the left point of the 4 battaile: then face to the left hand; and march vp to lay the right-hand-point eue with the right point of the 1 battaile, and face to the right hand, to make the reare of the Plinthum thus:

The feuerall bodies being brought into a Plinthum, must front euery way as long as they make Aite. When they march in a Plinthum, they are all to face toward the head of their march: that is, the right and left flanke battalions are to face the one to the left, the other to the right hand: The reare battaile is to face about to which hand it list, and so march on.

The battalions beside haue euery one their place of dignity: the first battaile hauing the front, the 2 battaile the reare, the 3 battaile the right flanke, the 4 the left flanke.

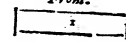
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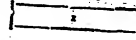


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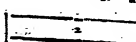
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Front.

Of the Diphalance Heterostomus.

CHAP. XLIII.

(1)  Diphalance Heterostomus is that which proceedeth by deduction, hauing the leaders of the former Phalanx in a right-hand deduction, and of the following Phalanx in a left-hand Deduction, so that the battalions march counterechangeably, one hauing the leaders in one flanke, the other in the other.

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fer in this onely, that the first had all the file-leaders on one side; either on the right or left; this the file-leaders of one battaile on the right, of the other on the left hand. For if the leading Phalange haue the file-leaders on the right-hand, the following Phalange shall haue them on the left: If the first haue them on the left, the other shall haue them on the right. See the figure. These of this forme, when the enemy sheweth himselfe on both flanks of our march, and of it the double sided battaile, whereof Ælian spake in the 36 and 37 Chapters, may be made by the fleecing vp the latter to the former, and ioyning reare to reare: and if the leading battaile haue the file-leaders in the right-flank, it is to make alte when the enemy commeth neer, and the following battaile to fleecue vp by the reare of it, to make an euen front with the leaders of the first. Contrariwise, if it haue the file-leaders on the left hand. Besides, this forme hath further vse, and you may frame of it a Diphallange Antistomus, by fleecing vp the following battaile on that side where the file-leaders of the leading battaile march: for by such fleecing, the file-leaders of both Phalanges shall be in the middest.

Words of direction in the Heterostomus.

There need few words of direction in this, onely if the two ordinary battailes stand in equall front, let the one wheele to the right, the other to the left hand, and so march the one before, the other after.

Of the horse Rombe, and of the foot-halfe-moone to encounter it.

CHAP. XLIII.

THe battaile framed in a forme of a Rombe, was first inuented by *Ileon the Thessalian*, and was called *ile* after his name; and to this forme he exercised and accustomed his *Thessalians*. It is of good vse, because it hath a leader on euery corner: in the front the Capitaine, in the reare the Lieutenant, and on either side the flank-commanders. (2) The foot battaile fittest to encounter this, is the (3) *Menoides* or *Cressent*, hauing both the wings stretched out, and within them the leaders, and being embowed in the middest to enuiron and wrap in the horse-men in their giuing on: whereupon the horse-men ply the foot a farre off with flying weapons, after the manner of the *Tarantines*, seeking thereby to dissolue and disorder their circled frame of march. *Tarentum* is a City in Italy, the horse-men whereof are called *Acrobolists*, because in charging they first cast little darts, and after come to hands with the enemy.

NOTES.

THe battaile in forme of a Rombe. Of the Rhombe is sufficiently spoken in Chap. 6. before, and in the notes vpon the same Chapter: The manner of framing of it, and the diuers kinds thereof are there set down. The *Thessalians*

lians used not all those kinds but onely that which flieth, but ranks not, as Ælian testifieth in the 46 Chapter, which kinde is there also described. It

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*Of the horse Rombe, and of the foot-halfe-moone
so encounter it.*

CHAP. XLIII.

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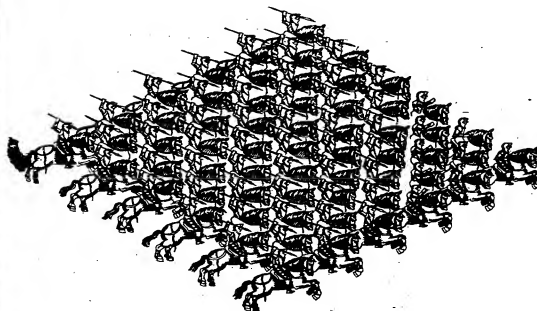
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Ælian vsed not all those kinds, but onely that which fileth, but ranks not, as *Ælian* testifieth in the 46 Chapter, which kinde is there also described. It

Cap. 44

The Rombe of Horse



The Front

fer in this onely, that the first had all the file-leaders on one side, either on the right or left: this the file-leaders of one battaile on the right of the other.

If the first the figure flanks of in the 16 former, leaders in and the front with the left a Diphala where the file-leaders

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lians used not all those kinds but onely that which flieth, but ranks not, as *Ælian* testifieth in the 46 Chapter, which kinde is there also described. It was accounted a forme of great violence, & in that forme the Thessalians got all there reputation, being esteemed the best horse-men of Greece.

2 The foot battaile fittest to encounter this.] The advantage that horse-men have against foot is great, which is the cause that foot-men have sought to help themselves by divers kind of embattailing to the end to supply by art, that which they want by force and strength. Of which manner of embattailings, many are set down in *Ælian*. If more then one troope charge at once, you have the Phalange Amphistomus, Antistomus, and the Plinthium to resist: If but one troope, the Diphalange Antistomus; All which kinds are before described by *Ælian*. In this Chapter is another kind described namely, the halfe moone, and there follow in other Chapters the *plagiophalange*, the *Epicampas emprosthia*, and the *wedge*: Of all which we are to discourse in order as they are remembered by our Authours.

3 Is the Menocides or Cressant.] Against the Rhombe of horse *Ælian* opposeth the Menocides of foot, a name of battaile borrowed from the shape of the moone. For *men* is the moone, and the word *oides* (which is ioyned to make up the composition) signifieth a full shape or forme. So the word importeth a shape or forme of the moon: and yet this battaile is not like all shapes of the moone, but like to the new moone when she hath two hornes, and hath the shape of halfe a circle as it were: In which sense *Isis* the Egyptian goddess (which indeed was the moone, saith *Diodorus Siculus*) was pictured with two hornes from the shew which she maketh being menocides, that is, the new moone, so is a wall sometime called, because of the hollow forme. As when the Rhodians having their wall shrewdly shaken by the engines of battery of *Demetrius*, reared an inward wall in shape of a Cressant, which with the compasse, comprehended all the parts of the outward wal which were battered. The same *Diodorus* calleth it Menocides: the like was don by the Halicarnassians against *Alexander* the Great, and *Arrian* giueth it the name *Menocides*. A brick halfe moon, the cause of the invention of this forme, is laide out by *Onofander* & *Leo*. *Onofander* saith *Onofander*, those that have great numbers of men in the field, are wont to figure them into a Cressant, supposing that in charging the enemy will be ready to ioyne man to man, that is, to enter into the semi-circle and fight with them that stand enbowed, in doing whereof, they will be benimed and wraped in in the halfe Circle, the wings of the halfe Circle being to bee drawne together round about them, and the whole brought into the forme of a Circle. And *Leo* likewise: The figure bearing the resemblance of halfe a Circle, seemeth to be safe & firm for it incloseth the enemy that cometh against it in the hollownesse of the Circle, by drawing out the wings into a Circle on both sides, and giueth more courage to fight against them. The causes then to take up this figure in fight are three: one the advantage of multitude of forces in the field, whereby the Generall is enabled to encompass another, the ignorance of the enemy, that ventureth within the compasse of the halfe moone; the third, the efficacy of the figure which serueth to entrap the enemy that is not heedfull and wary in ioyning battaile. It hath bene used both against Horse and foot, and sometimes in Sea by one Navy against another, *Ælian* esteemeth it good against horse; no doubt when horse charge, and are resisted both in front, and plyed also with flying weapons in flanke, they finde a greater

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Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 99

b Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 100

Arrian. l. 1. p. 12. c.

Onofander. l. 1. p. 65.

Leo. l. 1. p. 45.

Leo. l. 1. p. 45.

opposition and disadvantage, then when they are received in front alone. In square battailes of foot the front lying even, the horse in charging abide only the danger before, whereas in the hollow fronted battailes of foot, such as are this forme, and the Epicampios emprothia, they are endangered also in flanke, yea in both flanks, & cannot enter the hollownesse of the front without losse of many of their horse, the depth of the hollownesse being as strong (in having the file-leaders in front, and the depth of the file the same) as a square battaile to resist, and the wings plying and infesting them with all sorts of flying weapons: against foot it hath bene vied oftentimes, and it is the only forme that the Turks by reason of his multitudes, vseth both with horse and foot against Christians at this day.

The Cressant may be framed not onely before fight is begun, but also in the heat of fight: Before the fight, you have an example of the Lacedæmonians against *Epaminondas*, which I have cited at large in my notes upon the 30 Chap. *Leo* also setteth downe the manner of casting a Nauy into a Cressant before fight. During the fight, *Aratus* the elder framed a Cressant against the Lacedæmonians: *Paulanias* reciteth it in this manner; In the battaile of the Lacedæmonians against the Mantineans, The Mantineans, *sith he*, had the right wing, all the rest of the Arcadians the left. The one side was assigned to *Aratus*, and to the *Sicionians*, and *Acheans*. *Agis* King of Lacedæmon, and the Lacedæmonians stretched out their battaile to invade the front of the enemy. *Agis* and his troops stood in the middlest. *Aratus* after he had imparied his purpose to the Arcadians, fled himselfe, and with him that part of the army which he commanded, as if he feared the imprisonment of the Lacedæmonians; in giving backe hee brought the army into the forme of an halfe moone. The Lacedæmonians and his troopes move eagerly. The wing followed the King, pursuing *Aratus* and his troopes more eagerly. In the meane time they proceeded not the Arcadians that were at their backe: and the Lacedæmonians being encompassed a round about, lost both many other of their army, and *Agis* also their King, the sonne of *Eudamidas* was slaine. *Leo* also in sea-fight giueth his Generall counsell how to entrap his enemy with aiew of flight; in giuing backe with fashioning an halfe moone: There be his words in effect; *if a Generall be to retire before the enemies Nauy, let him retire, fashioning his Nauy into a battaile Menoicides, and sailing with his poppes forward, and so seeme to shunne the enemy: For if he flye not, but retire fighting, hee shall haue his ships ready to turne upon the enemy with their poppes bent against him. And if need require, he may retire with his poppes toward the enemy: for the enemy shall not dare to enter into the hollownesse for feare of being encompassed. So Leo. The Menoicides therefore may be framed during fight, but this caution is to be remembered, that in sudden transmutions of battailes, you vie not the seruice of raw souldiers, and of such as haue experience, lest all be brought into confusion, and the enemy charge you while you are changing your forme. Now as formes of aduantage are to be fought against the enemy; so is it needfull to aduise what best opposition is to be made against such battailes: in case the enemy vie them. The Rombe of horse was of old time accounted a forcible figure against foot, the horse therein had the better. The Menoicides was inuented to resist and ouerthrow the horse: The foot had bene the better; what was then best for the horse? to abstaine from charging (saith *Ælian*) and to ply the foot with misfue weapons, to the end to force them to break their*

their strong forme of embattailing. So now they stand vpon equal tearmes and the foot can with their shot annoy the horse, as well as the horse can annoy the foot. *Ælian* then sheweth a meanes for the horse to auoide the danger of this manner of embattailing: for foot vpon this forme against foot, hee sheweth no remedy. I will set downe what I finde: and here I neede not to repeat the remedy, that *Epaminondas* vied against the Lacedæmonian halfe-moone: it is related at large in my Notes vpon the 30 Chap. *Onofander* giueth this aduise: *Diuide your battaile, saith hee, into 3 parts: with the two outwardest charge the Enemies wings: the third that is ordered against the middle, and as it were, the bosome of the Cressant, aduance it not, but let it stand firme; for either they that are placed in the middlest of the Cressant, shall stand idles, or else aduancing in an euen front, will throng one another and breake their battaile. For the two fronts fighting in the wings and keeping their place, it is not possible for the halfe circle to come forward with an euen front: when they are therefore confused and haue broken their array, let the third battaile that remained in the middlest for seconds, charge them, as they disorderly aduance. If they fill keep their place in the bottome of the hollownesse, oppose the light-armed and darters against them, who will exceedingly disfrese them with their misfue weapons: likewise you may doe well to frame a Loxe-phalange of your whole Army, and with your two Loxes, charge the wings, preuenting so the circling and encompassing of the Menoicides. For the Enemy being a long while hindered from coming to blowes with his whole Army, shall be kept in play with a few, none fighting but those onely that are in the wings, which first of necessity must toyne, because of the oblique onsets. It will not bee a misse also, wisely to retire with the Army sometimes, as though you were in feare; or else facing about to make your retreat orderly, as if you fled; and afterward turning suddenly to meete the Enemy that presseth vpon you. For sometimes the Enemy being over-joyed in the imagination of a true flight, doth follow vnadvisedly, and make a disorderly pursuit; euery man pressing to be first, vpon whom you may returne without danger, and againe, chuse them that follow you who will be stricke: with a feare in that you are contrary to their expectation, turne againe & make head against them. *Onofander* giueth here three wayes to resist the Menoicides: one by diuiding your battaile into a Triphalange, & opposing two phalanges against the two wings of the Cressant, forbearing and standing firme with the third till opportunity be to moue (which is the battaile that *Ælian* opposeth against the Carlembolos.) The second by vnting the Loxe-phalange against it, as did *Epaminondas* at the battaile of Leuttra against the Lacedæmonian halfe moone, as I haue shewed elsewhere, namely Chap. 30. §. 7. The third in making semblance of flying; for the halfe moone is a forme, which in standing may well be kept whole, in mouing will soone be broken and fall into disorder, as *Cicuta* an Italian writer noteth very well. If then you faigne to flye, keeping your men in order, the Menoicides following you will breake of it selfe, and so you haue good opportunity to returne, and in all likelihood to win the day against it, especially being in disorder. *Leo* giueth the same aduise to his Generall, onely he speaketh of Sea matters, *Onofander* of Land seruice.*

Words of direction for the Rhombes.

For the forming of the Rhombes, see the 19 Chapter, and my Notes vpon that Chapter, §. 6.

b Diad. Sycl.
15. 486.
c Onofand. cap.
66. Leo. cap. 226.
§. 184.

c Leo. 19. 5. 41.

d Paulanias in
Arcadias 471.

e Leo. 20. 5. 101.

a Cicuta de la
discipl. militair.
l. 3. 226.

Leo. cap. 22.
§. 201.

The Tacticks of Ælian, or

For the Cressant.

First order your body into a long square, Plagiophalanx.

- 1 The 2 file-leaders in the midst of the square, stand.
- 2 The next 2 on either hand, moue forward one foot before the other two, their files moving withall, and holding their distance.
- 3 So the 4 next file-leaders each before other, on either side a foot.
- 4 Then two more on either side, aduance before the rest that moued two foot a peece.
- 5 Then the 2 next on either side, 3 foot apeece.

To restore to the first Posture.

Face about. Moue all at once (excepting the 2 middle files) and take your first ground.

Of the Horse-battaile Heteromekes, and the Plagiophalange to bee opposed against it.

CHAP. XLV.

THE horse-battaile Heteromekes is that, which hath the depth double to the length. It is profitable in many respects. (1) For seeming to bee but a few in so small a breadth, it deceiueth the Enemie, and easily breaketh his forces with the thicknesse & strength of the embattailing, and may without perceiuing be led through freight and narrow passages. The (3) foot battaile to encounter is called the Plagiophalange, or broad fronted battaile. For being but slender in depth, it beareth forth and extendeth it selfe in length, so that albe it be broken in the midst with the charge of Horse, yet is nothing broken but a little of the depth, and the fury of the Horse is carried not vpon the multitude of foot, but freight and immediatly into the open aire and field. And for that cause is the length thereof much exceeding the depth.

NOTES.

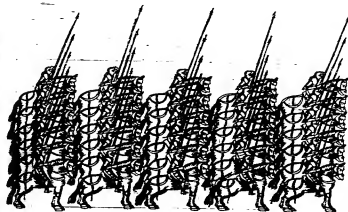
OF the 2. battailes Heteromekes and Plagiophalanx I haue spoken before in my notes vpon the thirtieth Chapter. The Heteromekes is a kinde of Horse, the Plagiophalange the broad fronted battaile therein mentioned.

2 For seeming to be but a few.] Amongst all the stratagems vsed in Warre, it hath bene accounted alwayes a master piece of skill to deceiue the Enemie with shew of forces, that are in any Army: sometime with semblance of more men, then wee haue, to feare him, sometime with concealing our number, to prouoke him rashly to fight, and aduerture himselfe in battaile. Of these two Kindes we haue an example in Cesar at the siege of Gergonia.

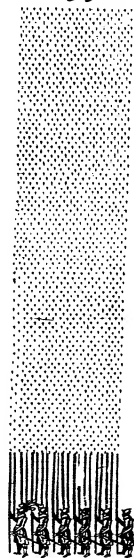
Cap. 45

Plagiophalanx, or of broad fronted
battaile of foot

Heteromekes or of Horse of Horse



The front



Gergouia. Cæsar himselfe writeth thus : When Cæsar came into his lesser Campa Cædore hill cell. (he had two Campes at that siege) to take view of his workes, he perceived that the hill which was holden by the Enemy, was become empty of men, which hill a few dayes past, could hardly be scene for the multitude, that covered it. Maruelling thereat, he asked of the ran awayes the cause (of whom great numbers came flocking to him every day.) It appeared by all their reports, which Cæsar also understood by his own Scouts, that the ridge of the hill was almost even, but yet woody and narrow, by which there was access to the other part of the towne. That the Enemy mightily feared that place, and were now of opinion, that seeing the Romans had gained one hill, if they should lose the other, they should seeme well nigh enclosed round about with a trench, and shut up from issuing out, and from forrage; that they were called out of the Citie by Vercingetorix to fortifie the place. Cæsar having gotten this intelligence, sent at midnight diuers troopes of horse thither, and commanded them to rid up and downe in all places with greater tumult, then their manner was. As soone as it was day, hee killed a great number of carriage-horse and Mules to be brought out of the Campe, and their pads to be taken off from them, and that the Muleters putting on head-pieces, should ride about the hill in shew, as if they were horse-men. To these he addeed a few Horse, who were to spread themselves abroad here, and there, to amaze the Gauls the more. Hee will'd them to adresse themselves, and to draw to one and the same place, fetching a large compass about. These things were scene a farr off out of Gergouia (for from thence the Campe might well be discerned) and yet in such distance it could not be certainly perceived, what the matter was. He sent a legion along the ridge of the same hill, and placed it (drawing it a little further forward) in the nether grounds below, and hid it in the woods. The Gauls here at increase of their suspicion, and all the forces appointed for the fortifications of their Campe were led thither. Cæsar espying the Campe of the Enemy to be void of men, conveyed Souldiours stragling, as it were, and not in troopes, from the greater Campe vnto the lesser, hiding those things, by which they might be knowen, and conveying their ensignes of Warre, lest haply they might be discerned out of the Towne, and gaue instructions to the Legats, whom he had let ouer every Legion, what he would haue done. After these directions hee gaue the signall: the Souldiours after the signall giuen, with all speed fell up to the Munition, and entering, made themselves masters of three Camps of the Enemy. And the speed of their surprize was such, that Theutomatus King of the Nitobrigians, being suddenly surprized in his Tent, as he rested about noone, the upper part of his body being naked, had much ado to saue himselfe vpon his horse (which was also wounded in escaping) from the hands of the rising Souldiours. This example of Cæsar containeth the two kinds before remembered of deceiuing the Enemy. For hee both made a greater shew of horse-men, then hee had, by setting Muleters on horse-backe, and giuing them head-pieces, and also dissembled the number of them, who were in the lesser Campe, which gaue vpon the Enemies workes, by conveying Souldiours out of the greater Campe piece meale, as it were, and one after another. The like pollicy yeelded victory to Cæsar against the Gauls before: as you may see in the fift booke of his Commentaries. And in this very kinde, that Ælian speaketh of, that is in making his front narrow and his battaile deepe, and so dissembling his forces, Cleandrides the Lacedemonian wonne a noble battaile against the Thuriens, as I haue noted in the nine and twentieth Chapter of this booke. Examples of the manner of these flights are euery where to be found in Histories.

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actall.

A people in
Gauls.

Cæsar de bel. g.
l. 5. pag. 74. & 8.

3 The foot battaile to encounter it.] Diuers kindes of battailes are fitter (as I conceiue) to bee opposed against this horie-battaile, then the Plagiophalange. And, I take it, it is not therefore here set downe as the *best forme* to encounter, and repulse the horie, but rather to shew, that, if you bee not otherwise able to auoide them, you may in this forme sustaine the lesser losse. For so much importes the reason of Ælian *viz.* that, if you be broken in the midst by the horie, yet is nothing broken, but a little of the depth, and the fury of the horie is carried into the open field, & not vpon the rest of the foot. If your foot battaile were flanked with a riuer, wood, trench, wall, or some such other strength, I would then well hold with this reason. For then might the foot open (as in the Diphalange Antistomus) and suffer the horie to passe through, and to fall into the riuer, or vpon that strength, which you were flanked with all. But when the horie breake through your foot, and passe into the open field, they haue aduantage to turne againe vpon your backe, and freedome of as many charges, as they list to giue vpon you. The Plinthium, the halfe Moone, the Epicampios, or hollow-fronted battaile described in the next following Chapter, and the wedge of foot, are to be preferred before the Plagiophalange. For all these kindes are inuented to repulse horie, in what forme fouer they giue on, and some of them, in case the horie be forward in charging, to ouerthrow and discomfit them. Of some of these we haue spoken before, other some follow to be treated of. The Heteromekes horie battaile, is not in our dayes much vsed, except it be in marching. The great Commanders of our time, rather in fight, order their horie into a Plagiophalange, which forme they hold more fit for the vse of the weapons of our age. But the Plagiophalange of foot remembred by Ælian to encounter horie, ought to be very shallow in depth. For if it should be according to the old fashion, 16. in depth (which number the file of the Macedonians held) or according to our custome 10. I see not how it is possible for a troope of horie to breake it, or to passe through it into the open field, the depth of the battaile being sufficient to sustaine the charge of any horie. How the Heteromekes, and how the Plagiophalange are framed, I haue taught before in the thirtieth Chapter.

Of another kinde of Rhombe for horse-men, and of the foot-battaile called Epicampios Emprosthia to encounter it.

CHAP. XLVI.



(1) Nother sort of Rhombocides there is, whereof I neede say no more, but that it sleeth, and ranketh not. I haue before shewed the vse thereof; and that *Ilcon* the Theffalian was the inuenter, and that *Isan Medea*s husband put it in practise: the vse thereof is great, it being directed and led in the foure sides by the Captaine, the Lieutenant, and the two flanke-commanders. It is commonly fashioned of Archers on horse-backe, as the Armenian, and Persian manner is.

Against it is opposed the foot-battaile, called (2) Epicampios Emprosthia,

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the Art of Embattailing Armies.

thia, the hollow fronted battaile because the circumduction of the front is like an embowing. The end of this forme is to deceiue and ouer-reach the Archers on horse-backe, either by wrapping them in the void space of the front, as they charge, and giue on vpon the ipune, or else disordering them first with the winges, and breaking their fury, by ouerthrowing them finally with their rankes about the middle Ensignes. This kinde of battaile was deuised to entrappe and beguile. For opening the middle hollownesse, it maketh shew but of a few, that march in the winges, hauing notwithstanding thrice as many following and seconding in the reare. So that, if the winges bee of power sufficient for the incounter, there needeth no more: if not, retiring easily on either side, they are to ioyne themselves to the bulke of the battaile.

NOTES.

(1) **A** *Nother sort of Rhombocides there is.*] The inscription of this Chapter seemeth not to bee right; because the forme of the Rhombocides here mentioned, differeth not, but is the same, that was last spoken of. In the former hee said it was inuented by *Ileon* the Thessalian, and in vsc ^a *Cap. 44* amongst the Thessalians, and called *ile* of his name. In this he saith as much, adding onely that *Iason*, *Medear* husband; who was also a Thessalian, put it most in practise. So that the Rhombes seeme to be all one, and the inscription of the Chapter either corrupted or mistaken; and that it ought to bee *of the Rhombe and the hollow-fronted battaile to encounter it*. I need say no more of this Rhombe, the forme of it, the manner of framing, and the difference of it from other Rhombes are sufficiently declared in other places before.

(2) *Against it is opposed the Epicampios Emprothia.*] About the forme of this battaile there is also some difference amongst the learned. *Cassiodorus* in his translation of *Polybius* translath ^b *Epicampios* in Greeke by the Latin word ^c *Forceps*. Of whose opinion ^d *Iustus Lipsius* seemeth to be. If I dissent from so great learned men vpon good reason and authoritie, I hope, I shall not incur the opinion of arrogancy, when I haue spoken, what I thinke, let the Reader iudge, as hee pleaseth: I preiudicate no mans opinion. For the *fur-caps* (tonges) or *Forfex* (sheeres) which ^e *Lipsius*, and *Cassiodorus* hold to be all one with the *Epicampios*, *Vegētius* resemblth them to the letter V. His words are these: *Against it (that is against the wedge) the forme of battaile is opposed, which they call Forfex. For this is a kinde of battaile framed of the choicest Souldiers to the likenesse of the letter V, and it receueth and sheweth within it the wedge.* *Vegētius* saith, the *Forfex* or *Forceps* is like the letter V. Of this forme is the *Cælembolos* in *Alian*, and resembled to the same letter in expresse rearmes; as you may see in his thirte fixe Chapter. So that hauing the same forme; it must be the same battaile, howsoeuer they differ in the Greeke and Latin names. This being so, and seeing *Alian* in this Chapter describeth the *Epicampios* by it selfe, and in another Chapter the *Cælembolos* by it selfe giuing a different forme to them both, there is no probability to thinke they should be one. Now besides the forme here set downe by *Alian*, (which is to bee marked, as it is described;) the description of *Xenophon* shewes the forme of the *Epicampios Emprothia*, out of whose words a man may easily discern, that the *Cælembolos* and it are not all

one. For he resembleth it to two [put together, that is one Gamma on one side, another Gamma on the other. Put therefore two Gammas together in this sort [] and you haue the perfect forme of the Epicampos Emprothia. The passage is worth the recitall, although it be somewhat long. For it both containeth the forme of the battaile, and the manner of opposition against it. Thus then he writeth concerning the field fought betwixt Cyrus the elder, and Cræsus: *When both the Armies were in fight one of another, and Cræsus being farre superiour in number, resolved to ouer-front Cyrus his battaile, ordering his owne Phalange in an embowed forme [] for otherwise there is no way to ouer-front and encompasse] he framed it on each side like the letter [] to the end that all his forces might fight at once together. Cyrus seeing this, continued neuertheless his march, and held on with the same pace he had done before; and marking how the Enemy had made [] the inflexion on both sides before, and extended their wings; doe you perceive, said he to Chrylantas, where they haue made their [] inflexion? Yes, said Chrylantas, and I maruaile at it. For, me thinkes, they draw their wings to farre forward from the front of their owne Phalange. True, said Cyrus, and from our Phalange too. But why doe they so? because they feare, lest the wings being nere to us and their Phalange yet farre off, we should gine vpon the wings. But how, said Chrylantas, can they in so great distance second one another? It is euident, said Cyrus, that when their wings shall come vpon, and be right against our flanks, they will turne faces and Phalange wise come against us on both sides, and fight with vs euery way.*

Thus Xenophon of the forme and vse of this battaile; the forme being like two Gammas []. on either side closed, the vse to encompass the aduerse battaile, and to fall vpon it on all sides. And yet the forme and practise of the forme together with the manner to oppose against, will more plainly appeare in the following words: Cræsus, saith Xenophon, thinking that the Phalange (viz. the middest of the battaile) with which himselfe marched, was neerer to the Enemy, then the wings, which were stretched forth in length, gaue a signall to the wings, not to proceed further, but to face to the Enemy in the ground, where they stood; when they had all turned their countenances toward the Army of Cyrus, he gaue them another signe to goe and charge the Enemy. So did three Phalanges (as themselves against Cyrus Army, the first against the front, the other two, one against the right-flanke, the other against the left: So that the whole Army of Cyrus were put into a great feare. For as a small Plinthium comprehended in a great one, so was the Army of Cyrus being enuironed euery where with the Enemies horse, and armed foot, and Targettes, and Archers, and Chariots, sauing onely in the reare. Notwithstanding as soon as Cyrus commanded, they turned their faces against the Enemy: The silence on both sides was great for dread of that, which was expected. But when Cyrus thought meete, he began the Paan, and all his Army answered him. After this they [] flouted altogether, and Cyrus putting spurs to his horse, with his horsemen gave vpon the Enemies flanks, and with all speed came to hand: The foot presently following in good order wrapped in the Enemy here and there, and had a great dole the letter. For they charged the wing in a Phalange, so that the Enemy was forcibly put to flight: hitherto Xenophon. In which latter words we may see the forme of the Epicampos more fully expresse. For first hee sheweth that wings of the Phalange of Cræsus were advanced a good way before the front of the Phalange it selfe. Then that the front of these wings advanced, came vp as far as the reare of Cyrus his Phalange. Thirdly, that they marched

Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 7.
175. 4.

* ΤΟΙΣ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΑΙΣ
ΚΕΡΑΤΗΣΙΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΕ-
ΛΕΥΟΝΤΙ
ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΕΜΠΡΟΘΙΑΙΣ

Xenoph. Cyrop.
l. 7. 176. 3.

* ΤΟΙΣ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΑΙΣ
ΚΕΡΑΤΗΣΙΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΕ-
ΛΕΥΟΝΤΙ

vp in a right line. For Xenophon resembleth Cyrus his battaile to a little Plinthium, the battaile of Cræsus to a great Plinthium, so that both battailes must be square & figured on all sides in right lines, as we haue in the 42 Chap. Fourthly, that the front of the Epicampos must be hollow to receive and clasp in, as it were, the aduerse battaile: the two gammæ (whereof Xenophon spake before) ioyned together in the vpper part being a true resemblance of the front of this battell. The manner of the opposition against it is likewise described by Xenophon. First Cyrus staid till the wings of the Epicampos were come vp even, and turned their faces against his flanks. Then when they were come vp, commanded he his flanks to face toward them to receiue the charge. When the fight was begunne, Cyrus from the reare with reserves of horse and foot gaue vpon the flanks of the wings of the Epicampos (for in the fight, by reason of turning of their faces towards the flanks of Cyrus his Phalange, their flanks were towards Cyrus his reare) and so charging them in flanks and front they were easily defeated. To returne then to the comparison of the Forces and the Epicampos, by this example out of Xenophon the difference betwixt them may easily appeare: the Epicampos making 2 angles in the bottom of the hollow front, the force but one, & the angle in the force is acute, the 2 angles in the Epicampos both right angles, & the figures differ as much one from another, as the two gammæ ioyned together differ from the letter V. Ælian in this Chapter sheweth not otherwise of the Epicampos, but against horse. But the vse is no lesse against foot, as the former example teacheth, & many other, which are to be found partly in History, partly are mentioned in my notes vpon this booke. A notable experience of this forme you may see noted vpon the 28 Chapter of this Booke, in the fight betwixt Scipio and Asdruball; another in the battaile of Miltiades at Marathon against the Perians: likewise in the battaile of Xerxes against the Franks, of which I shall haue occasion to speak hereafter. For the framing of this battaile the words of direction may be these: First, make a broad fronted Phalange. Then

1 Advance your right and left wings, and let the middest of the battaile stand firme. Under the name of the wings I vnderstand fo many files as shall be thought enough to march out to make the hollow front: the bringers vp of wings must rank with the file-leaders of the middest.

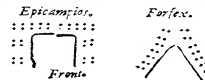
2 Face and charge into the hollowneisse of the front.

To rest, re to the first Posture.

1 Wings, face about to the right or left hand.
2 March and ioine with the body in an euen front.
3 Face as you were first.

There is added by some translators of Ælian an Epicampos opisithia to the Epicampos emprothia. This battaile they would haue to be signified in their words, This kind of battaile was devised to corrupt and beguile. But hee that shal weigh the words following, shall see that Ælian's meaning is to describe the Emprothia more fully, euen in the selfe same place. For he speaketh

Asignum est
this form against
1. unius. 2. duos.
Sic. l. 1. 686.



The Tactics of Ælian, or

keth of the few that march in the wings, and of thrice as many that follow in the rear. Besides, he saith, that if the wings be not sufficient to repulse the enemy, they may retire and issue to the bulke of the body. The wings are therefore led on first, and the masse of the body followeth, whereas in the Epicampos opisthia the wings are stretched out behind, and follow the body. And albeit there be in Ælian no words of the Opisthia, yet I may not deny that there is an Epicampos Opisthia: *Suidas* proueth it plainly. He defineth the *Enicampios*, thus: It is called *Epicampios* when the battaile advanceth against the enemy, and hath the wings drawn out in length on both sides behind. The use of the Opisthia is as it seemeth, to avoid the encircling or encompassing of an enemy, that hath a greater quantity of souldiers then we, and means to charge our rear. *Alexander the Great*, being farre inferior to *Darius* in multitude of men, used this forme at *Arbela*. *Dionorus Siculus* saith, that after he had ordered his battaile against *Darius* in a right front, he framed an *Epicampos* behind each wing to the end, that the enemy with his multitude might not encompass the small number of the *Macedonians*. And this may suffice for both the formes of the *Epicampios*.

Words of direction for the *Epicampios*
Opisthia.


- 1 Advance your body, and let the wings stand firme.
- 2 The wings of one flanke face outward to the right, the other to the left hand.

To retire, &c.

- 1 Wings face as you were.
- 2 March vp, and front with the middest of the body.

Of the foot-battaile called *Cyrtæ*, which is to be set against the *Epicampios*.

CHAP. XLVII.

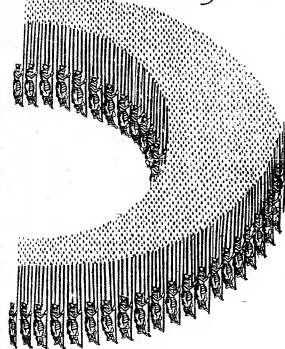
- (1)  HE Battaile to be opposed against the *Epicampios* is called *Cyrtæ* of the circumferent forme. This also maketh semblance of small forces, by reason of the conuexity of the figure. For all round things seeme little in compasse, and yet stretched out in length, and singled, they proue twice as much as they appeared to be. As is euident in *Pillars* which are round, and therefore in fight shew the one halfe, and conceale the other. The greatest piece of skill in embattailing, is to make shew of few men to the enemy, and in deed to bring twice as many to fight.

NOTES

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

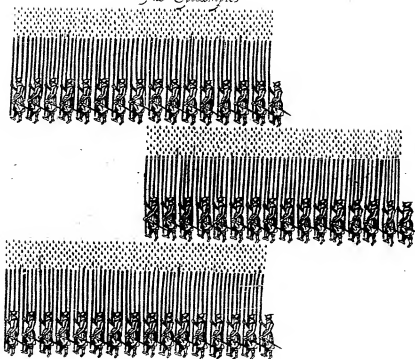
NOTES.

The *Cyrtæ* or conuex half *Moore*.



Cap. 47.

The *Epicampios*



The front

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b. Dind. Sic. 1. 7.
59. Ar. 3. 60.
C. 3.

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NOTES.

THE forme of this battaille, albeir it be a halfe Moone, and is called by Polybius Menocides, yet is it in a manner contrary to the Menocides described in the 44 Chapter of this Booke. That turned the concavity or hollownesse backward toward the reare, and the two hornes against the enemy, and sought to encompasse, this turneth the conuexe or outward part foremost, not the hornes, and enleauoareth to auoid encompassing: For the Epicampios, if a man should enter into the hollownesse thereof, claspeth him in, and is able to charge him in front, and on both flanks at one time. But the conuexe halfe Moone auoiding that danger, meeteth the enemy with the bearing out of the halfe circle, and giueth the two wings of the Epicampios enough to doe, being not to be annoyed with the depth of the hollownesse, which remaineth a pretty distance more backward then the points of the wings. So that this forme is fit to be opposed against the Epicampios, and looeth no aduantage of embattailing: and it auoideth the perill of the hollow front by not entering, and yet maintaineth the fight against the two wings that are thrust out to encompasse; being of sufficient strength to encounter the Epicampios, either of them not dissoluing their forme, or notwithstanding that the wings of the Epicampios retire, as Aelian preferibeth, when they are ouerpressed, or else the body of the hollownesse aduance to make an equal front with the wings, and so vnite their force. Howbeit I haue not read in the Greeke history examples of this forme set against the Epicampios, or vied otherwise in fight; onely I finde in Polybius at the battaille of Cannæ, that Hannibal practised it against the Romans, not trusting to the strength of the forme, but rather with the shew thereof, couering a further drift, to beguile and bring them into his snare. His words are in effect these: Hanniball, saith he, embattailed his army thus: He placed on the left hand the Spanish and Celtish horse right over against the Roman horse: next to them of foot halfe the Lybian heavy armed; then the Spaniards and Celtis, next them the other halfe of the Lybians. On the right wing he ordered the Numidian horse: After he had framed an even front of the whole Army, he aduanced the middle Spaniards and Gauls, and cast them into a conuexe halfe Moone, gathering up the depth thereof, and making it thin, meaning to hide the Lybians with it, and disposing the Lybians behinde them as seconds. And a little after he declareth the manner of fight. Then the heavy-armed foot succeeding the light armed, encountered together. The Spaniards therefore and Gauls a while brauely maintained their order, and fight against the Romans; but being ouer-pressed, they turned their back, and retired, dissoluing the forme of their halfe Moone. The Roman Cohorts courageously following easily broke asunder the battaille of the Celts, which at first was ordered in a small depth, themselves transferring the backnesse of their battaille from the wings of the middle, where the fight was; for the middle and the wings fought not at the same time. The middle began the fight first, because the Celts ranged up a halfe Moone, but much more forward then the wings, hauing not the hollownes but the prominent swelling of the halfe Moone lying out toward the enemy. So the Romans following & running together to the middle, where the enemy gave ground, entered so far into the enemies battaille, that they had the heavy-armed Lybians on either of their flanks, of whom those of the right wing sicing to the Target, charged them on the right shoulde of the left wing, facing to the pike, gave upon their left side, because it selfe shewing what was fit to be done: so that it befell

The Tacticks of Ælian, or


as Anniball had foretold, that after the defeat of the Celts, the Romans pursuing the victory, should fall out to be enclosed in the midst of the Lybians. So Polixenus of the prominent halfe moon or Cyrt, which Anniball vsed, to which of purpose he gaue to make thinner, because it should be broken & beaten, and the enemy drawn into the snares as it were, and ambush of the seconds, that is, of the Lybian heavy armed. If it had had the due proportion of depth, it might haue stood a longer time against the efforts of the enemy, and disputed the victory against the broad-fronted phalange; against which if it may be opposed, there is no question but it may be set against the Epicampios, because the broad-fronted phalange hath all her forces vnited together, the Epicampios fighteth onely with her two wings, the middle of the battaile being farre from joyning; vnlesse a man be compelled to enter into the hollownesse of the front, in which case both the front and the wings may annoy him.

Words of direction for the Cyrt or conuexe
halfe Moone.

- First, order the body into a long square or Plagiophalange.
- 1 Then let the two file-leaders in the midst of the square march out with their files.
- 2 The next two on either hand moueright forward one foot short of the first, keeping distance in flanke, as before.
- 3 So the next foure, two on each side: the two next one foot short of the last, the other two one foot short of them.
- 4 Then the next foure, two on each side, each two foot short of other.
- 5 Then the foure last, two on each side, each three foot short of the other.

Of the Tetragonall Horse-battaile, and of the wedge of foot to be
opposed against it.

CHAP. XLVIII.

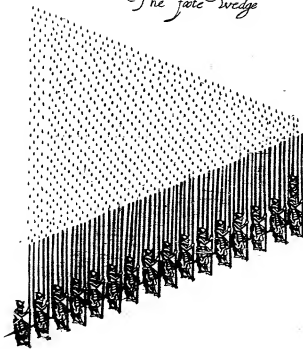
- (1)  He Tetragonall horse-battaile is square in figure, but not in number of men. For in squares the number is not alwaies the same: and the Generall for his aduantage may double the length to the depth. The Persians, Sicilians, and most of the Grecians doe affect this forme, and take it to be easie in framing, and better in vse.

(2) Against it is opposed the Phalange called Embolos, or Wedge of foot, all the side consisting of armed men. This kind is borrowed of the horse-mans wedge. And yet in the wedge of horse one sufficeth to lead in front, where the foot-wedge must haue three, one being vnable to beare the sway of the encounter. (3) So Epaminondas the Theban fighting with the Lacedemonians at Mantinea ouerthrew a mighty power of theirs by casting his army into a wedge. (4) It is fashioned when the Antistomus Diphalangy in

the Art of Embattailing Armies.
in marching ioyneth the front of the wings together, holding them behind
like vnto the letter A

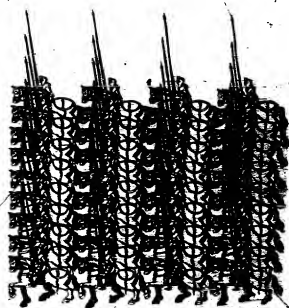
Cap. 48.

The foote wedge



The front


The Horsebattaile square in figure,
not in horre



as Anniball had foreseene, that after the defeat of the Celts, the Romans pursuing the victory, should fall out to be enclosed in the midst of the Lybians. So Polixenus of the prominent hope he gaue to the enemy drawn in, is, of the Lybian he might haue stood at the victory against be opposed, there, because the broad Epicampios fight being farre from the lownesse of the friny him.

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in marching ioyneth the front of the wings together, holding them behinde like vnto the letter A.

NOTES.

(1) This Chapter containeth the description of two battails, one of horse, the other of foot to be opposed in fight one against another; namely the square of horse, and the wedge of foot. Of which the tetragonall horse-battle, square in figure, or ground (for all is one) is described in my notes vpon the 18. Chapter of Aelian, as also the wedge of horse, from which this wedge of foot (as Aelian saith) is deriued. It will be therefore needlesse to repeat, what is there written about the formes and diuersity of them; or to make comparison of their vse and aduantage. Against the Rhombe of horse, if they come to charge foot, he hath set downe two formes of foot to receiue them; the *Cresant* and the *hollow-fronted battail* called *Epicampios emprossia*: Rhombe thooteth forth and chargeth in a point, must of necessity by receiue all files, disperse the Rhombe both in front and flanke, which is a dangerous kinde of fight, and such a one as seldom may be tolerated or endured.

(2) Against the square horse battail in figure or ground, he opposeth in this Chapter, the wedge of foot, which albeit it cannot with the like art wrappe it, and so to disorder and deface it. For the square of horse hauing a large front and going with full speed to charge, falleth vpon the narrow front of the wedge, which according to Aelian ought to containe no more then three men, and they knitting themselves close, their pikes pretended and being seconded with the rest of their companions behinde pretending their pikes likewise, receiue the charge with a firme stand, so that only the middelt of the horse falling vpon the point of their front; cannot reach to the flanks of the wings thereof (because the wedge from the first narrowing groweth backward into an increasing breadth) without breaking of their forme, and altering of the front of their square, wherein they were ordered: which if they doe, their repulse cannot but follow, because they fight out shot of the horse, that came against them in a square, appeareth by the 18. Chapter of this booke, where it is laid that Philip King of Macedon, Alexander his father vsed this forme alone, and that Alexander himselfe ordered his horse in the same manner, who were both victorious in all their fields. That it is as good for foot against horse, besides the reasons before rehearsed may be euident by this, that the horse are in motion in the charge, and by that meanes are soone disordered, whereas the foot stand fast, and keepe themselves secure to repulse the violence of the horse.

3. So Epaminondas the Theban. This battail is excellently described by Xenophon in his seuenth booke of his history of the Grecians. His words found thus: After Epaminondas had embattailed his army, as he thought fit, he led not straight way against the enemy directly, but declined westward toward the Tegan mountains lying right over against the enemy, which bred an opinion, that he had no will to fight that day. For after he came up to the mountains and had ta-

a Xenoph. Hellen.
6.7. p. 645. D.

b. 10m. rd. 30m.

c. 10m. 10m. 10m.

d. 10m. 10m. 10m.

e. 10m. 10m. 10m.

f. 10m. 10m. 10m.

ken a view of his army, he caused them to lay down their arms in the uppermost part of all, as if he meant to incamper; and by this means allayed the preparation of fight, which most of the enemies had conceived in mind; and likewise their care in maintaining their place and order in battle. After steering up to the front, his companies that marched in a wing, he fashioned his whole army into a strong wedge. Then commanding them to take up their arms, he led on, and they followed. The enemy seeing him advance contrary to their expectation, had no leisure to be still, but some ran to their place in battle, some embattailed themselves, some bridled their horse, some put on their curaces all were like to men, that were like rather receive, than give a foyle to the enemy. Epaminondas led on his army like a galle with the prow against the enemy, imagining that where soever he should break the array, he should thereby overthrow their whole army. For he refused to bring the left and strongest part of his army to fight, casting the weakest behinde in the rear, knowing that but if he defeated they would disgrace their age, and breed new courage in the enemy. The enemy ranged his horse like a phalanx of armed foot in a great depth without joining foot with them. But Epaminondas made a strong wedge of his horse also allotting them foot which had no horses, conceiving that cutting asunder the enemies horse, he should easily overthrow their whole army. For you shall hardly find any, that will make good their ground, after they see them of their owne side take themselves to their feet. And to the end, to with hold the Athenians from succouring those of the left wing next unto them, he placed both horse and foot right over against them upon the hills, to put them in feare of charging their rear, if they came out unto the enemy, so led he on to the charge, and was made cinck of his hopes. For having the better where soever he came on, he put the whole army of his a'ner faries to flight. So Xenophon: Where you may note not only a square of horse defeated by a wedge of horse, but also a square battail of foot defeated by a wedge of foot. And to shew more plainly, that the forme of the wedge is forcible against a broad fronted Phalanx, I will recite two examples more. The first is out of T. Livius, who writeth of a battail fought betwixt the Romans and Celtiberians thus. The Celtiberians knowing that the Roman army having spoiled their country, would retire through a forrest called Manlius his forrest, but themselves of purpose, to the end to fall upon the Romans upon advantage, and embolden. When the Roman army had entered the forrest by day-light, the enemy rising out his ambush upon the sudden invaded them on both flanks. Which Flaccus (who was the Roman General) seeing, stilled the tumult by the Captaine commanding every man to his place, and armie, and bringing the baggage and carriage beasts together, he constantly and without feare embattailed his army partly by himselfe, partly by his Legates and by the Tribunes of the soldiers, as the time and place required. The enemy came on, and the skirmish was attacked in the uttermost parts of the Roman Phalanx, and at last the battail is joyned. The first he was hot in all sorts, but for some diuers for the Legions behaved themselves bravely, and the auxiliaries in both wings as well. The mercenaries were hardly laid unto by the enemy (who bore the like arms, and was a better kind of soldier) but had much ado to make good their ground. The Celtiberians when they saw they could not match the legions in the ordinary manner of fight, and Ensigne against Ensigne, cast themselves into a wedge, and so assailed the Romans in which kind of fight they are a powerfull; but they are scarce to be resisted. Then the legions also braced, and the battail was almost broken. Which danger when Flaccus perceived, he rode to the legionary horsemen and said: Is there no helpe in you said he? This army will immediately be lost. When they cried out as all hands,

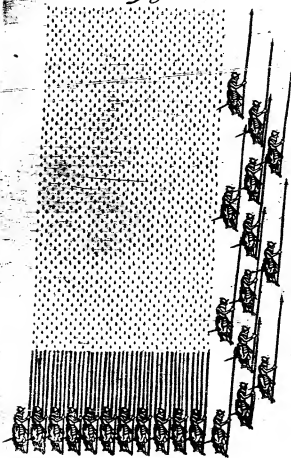
hand's, they would gladly doe what soever he commanded. Double the troopes, said he, of both legions, and with all your might force your horse against this wedge of the enemy, wherevith they presse us: you shall doe it more violently, if you give on, drawing off the horse's bridles, which the Romans horsemen have often done heretofore to their great commendation. They obeyed, and pulling off their horse's bridles they passed & repassed through the enemies wedge twice with great slaughter, everyone breaking his staffe. The Celtiberians after the breaking and dispersing of their wedge, in which all their hope remained, began to be afraid, and almost quitting the fight, sought where they might best to save themselves. Witherso Lay. In which passage a man may observe the violence of the wedge, which if it be rightly managed, is of wonderful power to breake and dispart any square it shall fall upon. The other example or precedent is out of Agathias, where he describeth the battail betwixt Narxes (the Emperour Justinians Lieutenant, and Buccelinus General of the French-men. He hath thus. Narxes when he came to the place where the fight should be, ordered presently his army into a Phalanx. The horse were ranged in the wings; Himselfe stood in the right wing, and next him Zandalas Captaine of his followers, and with him all his mercenary and household servants; that were not right for the warre, on either side of him was Valerian and Artabanus, who were commanded to hide themselves a while in the thicke of the wood, that was thereby; and when the enemy joyned, to fall out suddenly and unlooked for upon them, and to put them into an amazement. The foot had all the space in the midst, and the file-leaders joyned shoulder to shoulder being armed with curaces and other pieces of armour reaching downe to the foot, and with caskes: Behind them were other souldiers ordered even as farre as to the open fields. The light armed and such as used flying weapons were cast in the rear expecting a signall of employment. The middelt was reserved for the Heruli, and remained empty, because they were not yet come up: Buccelinus advanced his battail, and all ran cheerfully against the Romans, not leschurly, and in good order, but rashly and tumultuously, as if with the very cry they would have rent asunder all that stood against them. The forme of their battail was like a wedge, for it resembled the letter Delta. And the front which shot out in a point, was covered and clof, by reason it was hemmed in with Targets (you would have said they were fortified with a swines head) but both the flanks on each side lying out by files in depth, and stretching backward by a file, by little and little were parted and sundered on from another, and leaving out still toward the rear ended at last in a great distance so that the ground in the midst betwixt them was empty, and the backs of the souldiers that were in the wedge, appeared cleane through the files, unconquered. For their faces were turned contrarywise one from another, to the end, they might beare them toward the enemy, and save themselves from blowes, by casting their Targets before them, and secure their backs by placing them opposite to the backs of their followers. All things fellows according to Narxes his wish, to whom both a faire opportunity was presented, and who had wisely before contrived what was to be done. For when the Barbarians running on furiously fell upon the Romans with a shout and outcry giving up on the midler, they presently broke the front of those that stood in the void place, (for the Heruli were not yet come up) And the leaders of the point of the wedge cutting asunder all that stood in their way, even to the uttermost depth of the file, and yet making no great slaughter, were carried beyond the bringers up of Narxes battail, and some of them continued their course further, thinking to take in the Roman Campe, Then Narxes presently turning about and extending out his wings, and making (as the Tactikes name it) an Epicamptios emprothia, commanded the archers on horse.

Agathias l. 2. c. 11.

39

Capus percussus. p. 419.

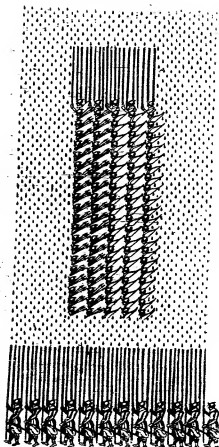
The Peplegmene



The front

Cap 49

The Plesium




the Art of Embattailing Armies.

lid, and not hollow within, is plain by the 19 and 20 Chapters of this booke. I will conclude this Chapter with the caution of *Peguetus*, which is this, that if you thill make a paire of tongs or a hollow wedge, you ought to haue referres in readinesse behinde the battaile, wherewith you may frame your tongs or wedge. And yet this caution holdeth not alwayes; For as a horie wedge, so a foot-wedge may be framed without supernumeraries: as the 19 and 20 Chapters shew.

Of the foot-battaile called Plesum, and of the Winding or Sawe-fronted battaile to encounter it.

CHAP. XLIX.

(2)  HE bataille Plefium hath the length much exceeding the depth. And it is called Plefium when armed foot are placed on all sides, the archers and fencers being thrown in to the middle. Against this kinde of bataille is fet the winding-fronted bataille, to the end that with the vneby that meanes dissolve and disorder the thicknesse of the same, and file-leaders of the winding-fronted bataille observe the file-leaders of the allo encounter them in the like forme. If the Plefium file-leaders feuer themselves and spring out from their maine force, then they likewise be ready to smite them man to man.

NOTES.

2 **T**HIS Chapter containeth two foot-battailes, one to be opposed against the other; the first called the *Plefum*, or hollow-square; the second the *winding-fronted battaile* or *Peppementum*. Of which the first hath bene used by all antiquity, especially by the Romans, whensoever the enemies overtopped in number, and they feared to be charged on all sides. It is called *Plefum* of the figure which is *quare*; but originally and more particularly of the mould wherein bricks are cast. Because the battaile hath the likenesse of the mould; as being both square, and also hollow within as I have noted before. Neither is this name given to a battaile altogether without cause, that the chariot wherein *Alexander* rode, when he returned from the Indies quaffing and rioting, was framed in *vasum*, that is, in a square hollow vase, and the Helepolis (an engin which *Demetrius* inuented to batter the Rhodens City) was tetragonal, and had 48 cubits in every side of the *Plefum*. But in a battaile, that is *Plefum*, faith *Helian*, which

2. *Haue the length manifoldly exceeding the depth.* The length of a battaille, as I haue shewed heretofore, is that which runneth from the point of one wing to the other in front; the depth, that is measured from the front to the reare. In the Pleafium then, according to *Alien*, the length or breadth ought to be manifold to the depth. But it is not generally so; for oftentimes you shall read of Pleafiums with ^a equal sides; and likewise that the Ple-
a manifold les-
 sening the length
 310 A.
 311 A. 4. 21. M.

* Xenoph. d. exp. l.
164. d.

sum is sometimes hollow within, sometimes solid and filled vp within with men: of which last kinde * Xenophon saith, many of the Barbarians framed their troopes in the battaile betwixt *Artaxerxes* and *Cyrus*. Of the first *Ælian* speaketh in this Chapter: for he would haue the foure sides to consist of armed, and the archers and slingers to be throwne into the hollownesse within. He hath before in the 42. Chapter described the *Plinthium* to be a square battaile in figure and number; this he would haue to be a square with the front manifoldly longer then the flanke. So that both battailes agree in that they are square, both in that they haue armed on all sides, both in that they are hollow within; they differ onely in the forme of the square, which is longer in the *Pleisium*, deeper in the *Plinthium*. Their affinity also appeareth in this also, that the *Plinthium* hath the name from a bricke, the *Pleisium* from the mould of a bricke; yet are their names oftentimes confounded. For that which is called in one Author *Pleisium*, is in another called *Plinthium*: as namely the battaile of *Antony* in *Perfia*, is by * *Plutarch* named *Pleisium*; by * *Appian* *Plinthium*.

* *Plut.* in *Antony*.
* *App.* in *Perth*.
165.

To shew now the vse of this battaile, it is of the kinde of *Defensives*; and the Grecians, whensoever they feared to be charged in flanke, front, and reare at once, or to be ouer-laid with number of enemies, had recourse vnto this forme. There is a notable example of it in * *Thucydides*. The *Athenians* hauing besieged *Syracuse* in *Cicill* both by Sea and Land, and being ouercome in two battailes by Sea, thought to march by Land to some one of their confederate Cities in the Island; and fearing to be round beset by the *Syracusians* in their way; *Nicias* one of the *Athenian* Generals put his part of the army in a *Pleisium*, and so

* *Thucyd.* l. 7.
194. c.
These two Generals had each of them half the Army vnder their command.

marched before: *Demothenes* the other *Athenian* General, followed with the other part of the army in the same forme. The armed rooke into the hollownesse of their battaile: the carriage and vniuersall multitude. When they came to the foord of the river *Anaps*, they found the *Syracusians* and their allies embattailed there, whom hauing beaten from the place, they passed over and continued their march. The *Syracusian* horse still charged, and the light-armed ceased not to ply them with missile weapons; but yet they came not to hand-blows, fearing to hazard against men desperately bent to sell their liues dearely. At last wearying them with many dayes skirmish, and disordering their army, they forced them to yield. This History is at large set downe by *Thucydides*. I haue abridged it, lest it should take vp too much roome; and yet haue exprest both the forme in his words, and further the meanes, that the enemy vsed to breake it, and to get the victory. This forme was vsed by the Grecians at their returne out of *Perfia*, after that *Clearchus* and the other Coronels were enured by *Tissaphernes*, and put to death: and againe by *Xenophon*, when he retreated, after he had failed of the taking of *Asidates* prisoner, not farre from *Ergamus* a City of *Lydia*. For the meanes to dissolue this battaile, the principall is, not to charge at hand those that stand so embattailed, but to ply them farre off with missile weapons; which is manifest by the sight of the *Syracusians* against *Nicias* and the *Athenians*; and by that of the *Perians*, who so assailed *Xenophon* in his retreat last mentioned. *Ælian* setteth against it another forme of battaile which he termeth *Peplegmene*, the winding fronted battaile, which is by some called the *saue*: what kinde of battaile the *saue* is, I see controuerted. Some would haue it consist of a constant front indented, and not changeable or alterable in any part, during the charge. If that be the *saue*, it cannot agree with

* *Xenoph.* d. exp. l.
133. 303. E.

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against the enemy, the one stretching it beyōd the points of both their wings
the other beyond the point one of their wings. The first kind is called *Hy-*
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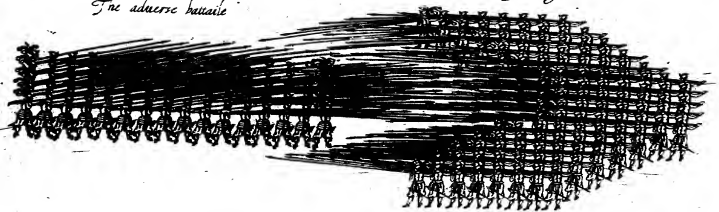
that haue aduantage in numbers of men, and can frame a larger fronted
Phalange then the enemy is able. And either of them opposeth a large front
against the enemy, the one stretching it beyōd the points of both their wings
the other beyond the point one of their wings. The first kind is called *Hy-*

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Cap. 50.

The aduerser bataille

The ouerfrowning bataille



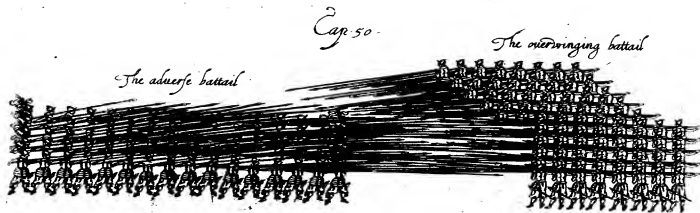
which he termeth *repugnance*, the winding fronte bataille, which is by ion e called the *fine*: what kinde of bataille the *fine* is, I see controuerted. Some would haue it consist of a constant front *indented*, and not changeable or alterable in any part, during the charge. If that be the law, it cannot agree with

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 that goe before in this booke; and they specially giue aduantage to them
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 Phalange then the enemy is able. And either of them opposeth a large front
 against the enemy, the one stretching it beyond the points of both their wings
 the other beyond the point one of their wings. The first kind is called *Hy-*
perph:



which he termeth *repente*, the winding fronted battail, which is by you called the *save*: what kinde of battail the *save* is, I see controuerted. Some would haue it consist of a constant front *indented*, and not changeable or alterable in any part, during the charge. If that be the *law*, it cannot agree with

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with *Alanus* description, who would haue the file leaders of the Peplegmene to aduance before their battaile, and be still in motion, of purpose to traine out the file leaders of the Pleſium to meet them, thereby to dissolue the forme of their battaile. And this is but a stratagem to preuaile against the enemy. For, as *Leo* saith, a good Generall ought, as a good wrestler, to make shew of one thing, and to put another in practice, to the end to deceiue the enemy, and gaine the victory; as is done in this manner of embattailing; but that the *Save* is no constant or fetted forme of fight, as the rest are, which are described by *Alanus* in the Chapters going before, appeareth by *Figius*, whose words are these: *Serra praelari dicitur, cum assidue acciditur, recediturque, neque uilo constititur tempore. The skirmish is said to be made in the forme of a Save, when they that use this forme continually giue on and retire, and at no time stand still. But we must understand that the mouing is not by mamples or by light-armed, as *Lippus* interpreteth it, but by file leaders of the armed, as *Alanus* teacheth, (with intent to traine out the file leaders of the Pleſium, and so to disorder their battaile:;) the rest of the Peplegmene standing still in their forme. Now then to make a Peplegmene or *save*-battaile, direction is to be giuen to the file-leaders alone to fall out confusedly against the aduerſe Pleſium of the enemy, and to the rest in the files to stand still. Otherwise being not forewarned, the whole files will moue and follow their leaders, which if they doe, this forme cannot be made, but the battaile remaineth as a square as it did before the going to charge. The forme of framing the battail called the Pleſium, and the words of command are described in my notes vpon the 42 Chapter.*

Of Hyperphalangesis, and Hyperkerasis, and of Astenuation.

CHAP. L.

- (1) **H**yperphalangesis, or ouerfronting is, when both wings of the Phalange ouer-reach the enemies front.
 2 Hyperkerasis, or ouerwinging, is when with one of our wings we ouer-reach the front of the enemy. So that he that *ouerf cometh ouerwineth*, but he that *ouerwingeth ouerf cometh* not.
 For they that match not the enemy in multitude, may yet ouerwing him.
 3 Astenuation is when the depth of the battaile is gathered vp, and instead of 16, a smaller number is set.

NOTES.

IN this Chapter, being the last, that describeth formes of battailes, are two kinde of battailes set forth, which are (if I mistake not) of more efficacy, I am sure, such as haue beene more practised, then any of the other, that goe before in this booke; and they specially giue aduantage to them, that haue aduantage in numbers of men, and can frame a larger fronted Phalange then the enemy is able. And either of them opposeth a large front against the enemy, the one stretching it beyod the points of both their wings the other beyod the point one of their wings. The first kind is called *Hyperphalangesis*.

Hyperphalangis *ouer-fronting*, the other *Hyperkerasfis*, *ouer-winging*. *Hyperphalangis* or *ouer-fronting* is, faith *Aelian*;

1 When both wings of the *Phalange* *ouer-reach* the enemies front. To make it then *Hyperphalangis*, the front must be much broader then the enemies, & extended beyond both their wings, of purpose to *ouer-reach* & wrap them in, charging not only the front, but also the flanks on both sides at once; which is so dangerous a kinde of fight, that he that is so assailed, can have no great hope of making resistance against his enemy; because the front being the place which is ordained for fight, and the pikes being bent and lying out from thence, if at the same time the flanks be also charged, the sides of the fouldiers must needs lie open to wounds, no man being able to defend himselfe, and turne his weapons two wayes at once. The *ouer-fronting* of *Crasus* vsed against *Cyrus*, rehearsed by me in my notes vpon the 48 Chapter, is an eminent example of *Hyperphalangis*, whereby *Crasus* at one instant invaded the front and both flanks of the enemies battaile. The like may be said of the battaile of *Darius* at *Illos* & *Gaugamela*, against *Alexander*; and of *Scipio* against *Arduball* *Gisgoes* sonne in Spaine; and of *Laetius* against *Caesar* in Africa. The manner of framing this forme is diuers: For either you shew all your forces at first, or else conceale forme part; and shewing all, you march in an euen and whole front, and bowing afterward your wings, enclose the flanks of the enemy, or else in on embowed forme at first (such as are the hollow-fronted battailes) and so encompass your enemy, taking him into the hollownesse, as you march forward. Of the first kind was the battaile of *Labiens* against *Caesar* which I mentioned last, and those of *Darius* against *Alexander*; Of marching in an embowed forme, that of *Crasus* against *Cyrus*: Of concealing your number, that of *Cleandrus* against the *Thurians* cited by me in my notes vpon the 29 Chapter of this booke, and of *Scipio* against *Arduball* which is set downe at large in the notes vpon the 28 Chapter.

2 *Hyperkerasfis* is when we *ouer-reach* the enemies front with one of our wings. *Ouer-winging* is of both wings, *ouer-winging* but of one. So that albeit your number be smaller then the enemies, yet if you wrap in a part of his front, and one of his wings, you do *ouerwing* him. To shew an example of *ouer-winging* you may finde in *Thucydides*, that the *Argives* with their allies, being in the field against the *Lacedemonians* and their allies, the battailes were ordered thus: The *Lacedemonians* gave the point of the left wing to the *Scirtes*, who only of the *Lacedemonians* have shew in that place. Next to them they ordered the fouldiers, that came with *Brasidas* out of *Thrace*: Next them the new made Citizens by companies, by their sides, first the *Hierans*, then the *Mentallans*, *Arcadians* both. In the right wing were the *Tegans*, and a few of the *Lacedemonians* in the point of that wing. The *Argives* were ranged on both wings. Thus were the *Lacedemonians* embattailed: Their enemies thus: The *Mantians* had the right wing, because the warre was made in their Territory; by them stood the *Arcadians* their confederates. Then 1000 selected *Argives*, whom the City had long time trained up in military exercise; to whom they added the *Argives*, and after them were ordered the *Cleoneans*, and the *Oenontians* their allies. The last were the *Athenians*, that had the left wing, as did their owne horse to them. This was the preparation and embattailing of both parties. When they went to charge, the *Argives* and their allies marched forward with speed and great fury, the *Lacedemonians* leisurely according to the sound of the sfer, placed

a Xenoph. Cyrop.
l. 7. 73.

b Arr. l. 5. 5. E. 6.
l. 3. 60. f.
c Polyd. l. 11.
64. c. B.
d Eubul. l. 8. 504. f.
Hirons de buil.
Afr. 385.

See Thid. Sic
of Philip against
the Illyrians l. 16
pag. 512.

a Thuc. l. 1.
300. D.
See in the ex-
ample in Xenoph.
h B. 7. 4. 2.
515. E. 516. A. B.

placed within their battaile, not for any religion sake, but to the end, that framing their motion to the sound of the instrument, they might not in the march breake their order of embattailing, which great armies often doe in advancing, to ioyne with the enemy. When they were ready to ioyne, King *Agis* bethought himselfe of this stratagem: It is the manner of all armies in the onset to stretch out their right wings, and with them to circumvent and encompass the left wings of their adversaries; because every fouldier carefull of his owne safety (seekes) to cover his unarmed side with the target of him that standeth next to his right hand, and imagineth that the sitting of targets close, serves for the best defence against the enemy. The cause is this: the corner file-leader of the right wing desiring to withdraw as much as he can his naked side from the weapons of the enemy proceedeth to the right hand, and the rest follow him. And at that time the *Mantians* a great deale *ouer-reached* the *Scirtes* with their wing. The *Lacedemonians* and *Tegans* much more the *Athenians*, by reason they o. uermatched them in number. *Agis* therefore fearing the encompassing of his left wing, seeing that the front of the *Mantians* was very broad, and farre extended, gave a signe to the *Scirtes* and *Brasidians* to stretch out their wing, and to equal the front of the *Mantians*. And for the void space that should remaine vpon their advancing; he commanded two *Polemarchs* or *Coronels*, *Hipponoidas* and *Aristocles* to lead therein two cohorts from the right wing, and fill up the void space, conceiving that he should, this notwithstanding, leave himselfe strength enough in the right wing, and that the wing opposed against the *Mantians* should hereby be better enabled to the encounter. But it happened that *Hipponoidas* & *Aristocles* followed not these directions, whether the reason were in the suddennesse of the command, or in the preuention of the enemies giving on: for which fault they were afterward banished *Sparta*, as men effeminate & cowards. When they came to hands, the right wing of the *Mantians* put the *Scirtes* and *Brasidians* to flight. And they and their allies, and the 1000 selected *Argives* falling into the empty space, that was not filled up, made a great slaughter of the *Lacedemonians*, and encompassing them forced them to turne their backs in huff, and flye to their wgon; and thus some of the elder sort of fouldiers, that were left for guard there, with *Thucydides*. I prosecute not the remanent of the battaile, because it is somewhat long. That which I have recited is enough for my purpose, namely to shew the manner of *ouer-winging*. Thus then apply it. The *Mantians* had their right wing farre extended beyond the point of the left wing of the *Scirtes* and *Brasidians*, who by marching out to the left hand sought to equal the front of their adversaries, but left the ground voyd, wherein they were first placed. This ground by *Agis* his commandment should have been filled by the Cohorts of *Hipponoidas* and *Aristocles*. It was not filled, so that in the charge the enemy had the advantage to enter it, and to circumvent on that side the *Scirtes* and *Brasidians*, and put them to flight: by which danger will be common to all that shall be so *ouerwinged* by their enemy. The danger then of *ouer-fronting* and *ouer-winging* being to great, let vs see what remedies and preuentions against either of them have been deuised by antiquity.

Against *ouer-fronting*, they sought to secure the flanks of their battailes, sometimes by ordering their army in such a figure, as should be sufficient to sustaine the charge of the enemy, whereof we have gaue on. Of which kinde is the *Pleum* or hollow square spoken of in the last Chapter. This was practised by the *Grecians* at their returne out of *Perfia*; and oftentimes by other *Grecians*, as is euery where to be found in their histories. And *Alexander*

Remedies against
ouer-fronting.
The Pleum.

Epilepsios
opisthia.
Wund. Su. l. 17. 59
Att. l. 3. 60. C. E.

^b Xenoph. Cyrop.
176.A.
Lib. 1.145.8. .
^c Polycr. 1.1649

Att. 2.35,36.

^u Caesar de bello
gall. 1.2.36. & l.
323.
e Plut. in Sylla

*Appian in bell.
unbridato.*

6 Turkish history
297.5.2.

Remedies against over-winging.

8 Helium 6.29.81

² *Polyen. L. 111*
Cleandrida. 5. 4.
Leos. 7. 5 69.
³ *Leos. 14. 6 10*

2 X. norb.-d'exp-
341-F.
2 Leoc. 12.5.34

LEOC.12.5.34

The Tadticks of Ælian, or

under when he was to fight with *Darius* at Gaugamela (the country being Champagne, and *Darius* abounding in multitudes) defended himself with an Epicampos opithia, or a reare-hollow bataille. I have shewed the manner of it before in my notes vpon the 46. Chapter. And sometimes againe by foreseeing the danger and placing referues in the reare, or some other secret place to charge the enemy in their flanke, while they busie themselves against your flanks. This ^b was practised by *Cyrus* the elder against *Crasus*, as I have shewed in my notes vpon the 46. Chapter. Of this kinde also it is, when you lay an ambush to charge their reare, while they charge your flanks. The place will likewise helpe much to auoid encompassing. For if the bataille be fought in a streight place by nature, where the enemy cannot draw out his Phalange in length, there is no danger of encompassing. So *Alexander* at Issos in Cilicia was freed from encompassing, the place being too narrow for *Darius* to bring all his forces into an equare front. The place may also be helped by art in case it be otherwise to open, and fit for the enemy, that abouted in number to encompass vs on every side. So ^d *Cesar* being to fight against multitudes of Gauls, drew a deepe trench on both the flanks of his army to assure it from the charge of the enemy. The like ^d *Sylla* against *Archelaus* the General of Mithridatis in the bataille Cheronæa, and both of them so securing their armies from circumuention, became by that means masters of the field and conquerors of their enemies. Of later time ^e *Io. Huniades* the Hungarian King, being to fight against a huge army of the Turkes, gained a noble victory against them by placing his army on the one side against a fenne, and enclosing it on the other side with his waggonns. And these precautions have beene deuised against ^a Hyperphalanges, or ouer-fronting. Against ouer-winning, they thought it sufficient to strenthen and make faile the wing, that was like to be endangered by the enemy; so that all remedies against ouerfronting are good also against ouerwinging: but the remedies against ouerwinging are not sufficient to frustrate ouerfronting. Ouerwinging therefore hath bene auoided sometimes by drawing out the endangered wing in length to equal the enemies wing, ^b as I prophesied against it. This is done by doubling of ranks as ^c *Allian* teaches in the 29. chapter, and it was practised by *Cleandrius* the Macedonian against the Persians. Wherin notwithstanding this caution is to be held, that you double not your rank so, that you may be the depth of your body too thin, for ⁱ in so doing your body will be subiect to breaking for want of depth as for want of length to ouerwing. Befide, it is done by facing to the hand, where the enemies bataille ouerwings, and marching out against it parallelly, till your wing equal the wing of the enemy, but so notwithstanding that the void space, from whence you drew your wing, be filled vp, for feare the enemy giue in to it, and disfreue you there, as may be seene by the president which in this Chapter I gaue out of *Thucydides* of ouerwinging, and the example of the Co'shans, who feare to be ouerfronted by the Grecians vpon a hill, vpon which they stood embattailed, led their wings to the right and left hand to match the front of the Grecians, leauing the middle of their bataille empty, into which the Grecians conueying themselves easily put the Colchans to flight, as ^c *Xenophon* recordeth. Ouerwinging is also prevented, if you hold referues secretly in the reare of your bataille to flye out vpon the sudden against those for

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ces of the enemy, that heeke to ouerwing you. This remedy was vsed by *Cæsar* in the battaile of Pharsaly, when *Pompey* hauing abundance of horsemen, fought to circumvent that wing of *Cæsar*'s horse, which lay to the open field, and was not guarded with a fence, as the other wing was. For to prevent the charge of these horse, *Cæsar* bestowed certain cohorts, who were to hold themselves close in the reare of his legions; not facing any legions did against the legions of *Pompey*, but facing into the field, from whence he suspected the enemies horse would charge; so that when the horse charged, these cohorts suddenly falling out vpon them, and putting them to flight, were the beginning of *Cæsars* victory. The place also often giueth assurance against ouerwinging, whether it be a riuer or the sea, or a mountaine, or such like, to which you may apply the flanke of your wing. For a riuer, you haue the example of *Clæarchus* in the battaile betwixt *Artaxerxes* and *Cyrus* the younger, in which *Clæarchus* ordered his troupes of *Grecians* on the right wing close to the riuer *Euphrates*. And when *Cyrus* would haue had him charge in the midst of the Persian Phalange, because the King had placed him himselfe in the left wing of *Cæsar* (for faith Xenophon) *Clæarchus* seeing the King was farre without the left wing of his battaile, hee great was his exceded in multitude, that the middle of his battaile was not great way without the left wing of *Cyrus* would not misdeceiue his right wing from the riuer, fearing to be encompassed on both sides.

This like was doe by *Alexander the Great* in the Countrey of the *Getes*: this is the effect of the words of *Arrian*; *When they the Getes* saw *Alexander* indifferently advance his Phalanx to their side, left the foot might happily be circumvented and encompassed by some ambush of the *Getes*, and his horse in the front, the *Getes* forooke also their City, whome hee could not murther, malled, firing many of their children and wives upon their forlorne backs, as the horse, and *Arrian* returned into the wilderness 4 *great* way from the river. By the Sea you may avoide likewise over-wings, if you order one of the flanks of your Army close to the Sea side. This was put in view by *Alexander* when he fought the battaile against *Darius* at *Iffos* in *Cyrc*. Thus hath *Arrian*; *The side of the left wing were commanded by Craterus, but the whole left wing by Parmenio, who was enjoyned not to forake the Sea, for feare of encompassing the Barbarians*, for the reason of their number they might easily encircle the *Macedonians* on all parts. A Mountaine also that is deepe, will giue good security to the flanke of a battaile, that may otherwise be encompassed. At the battaile of *Platea* which was fought betwixt the *Grecians* and *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his Generall; the *Grecian* Army consisting of 100000. the *Perſian* of 500 thousand; the *Grecians* at the first encamped at the foot of the Mountaine *Cytheron*; but finding the place fitter for the multitude of the *Perſians*, then for themselves they removed their Campe, and chose a more commodious piece of ground to pursue the total victory. For there was on the right hand a high hill, on the left, ran the river *Asopus*. The Campe was pitched in the middle place, which was fortified by the nature and siteness of the plot of ground. Therefore the streightness of the place much favoured the wiseness of the *Grecians*, toward the obtaining of victory. For there was no room for the *Perſians* to extend their Phalanx in any great proportion of length; so that many Myriades of the *Barbarians* came to be of no use. The *Grecians* therefore in confidence of the place, advanced their forces to fight, and ordering themselves according to the present occasion, led against the enemy. *Marlionius* being compelled to

The Tactics of Ælian, or

make a deep Phalange, ordered his battaile in such sort, as he thought most convenient, and with cries set forward against the Grecians. This example albeit it be a remedy against Hyperphalangeis, or over-fronting, yet because it giueth a safeguard by a mountain to one of the wings, I take it to be proper enough to Hyperkerasits or over-winging. Besides that, as I before noted, all means that are used to auoid over-fronting, are good likewise for the auoiding of over-winging.

3. *Attenuation is.*] This is nothing else but doubling of ranks: whereof see the 29 Chapter.

Of conueighing the carriage of the Army.

CHAP. XLV.

THE leading of the carriage, if any thing else, is of great (1) importance, and (2) requireth a speciall Commander. It may be conueighed in 5 manners, (3) either before the army, or (4) behinde, or on the (5) one flanke, or the other, or in the (6) middelt.

Before, when you feare to be charged behinde: behinde, when you lead toward your enemy: when you feare to be charged in flanke, on the contrary side. In the middelt when a hollow battaile is needfull.

NOTES.

* Leo. 6. 10. § 7.
93. 4.

I^s of great importance.] The importance of disposing the carriage in a march is well set downe by * Leo: You (saith hee to his Generall) ought to haue a speciall care of your baggage, and not to leane it at random, but to secure it in the place where it shall be, nor to lead it vnadvisedly into the battaile: For it oftentimes falleth out, that seruants fit for the Souldiers wife, and the souldiers children and kinsmen are amongst it: and if it remaine not in safety, the mindes of the souldiers are distracted with doubtfulness and care and feare of the spoyle thereof: for exery man of vnderstanding endeauoureth to possesse that which is the enemies, without losse of his owne. This is the aduice of Leo. A pregnant example hereof may be read in Diodorus Siculus his description of the last battaile betwixt Antigonus and Eumenes: In which Antigonus hauing foyled Eumenes horse, sent his Median horse-men, and a sufficient number of Tarentines to invade the enemies baggage: For he hoped (which was true) not to be defied by reason of the dust, and by possessing the baggage to become vanquisher of the enemy without traualle. They that were sent riding about the wing of their aduersaries vnperceiued, fell vpon the baggage, which was distant from the battaile about fure furlongs. And finding by it a rabble of folke vnfit for fight, and but a few left for gard thereof, putting them to flight quickly (that withstood) they made themselves masters of all the rest. Eumenes hearing that his baggage was lost, endeauoured notwithstanding to renew the fight, in hope by gaining the victory, not onely to preferue his owne baggage, but also to possesse that of the enemy. But the Macedonians refused to strike stroke, alledging that their carriage was lost, and their children and wines, and many other bodies necessary were in the hands

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hands of the enemy. And sending priuily Embassadors to Antigonus they desired the importance of assuring the carriage.

2. *Requireth a speciall Commander.*] That the baggage ought to haue a speciall Commander * Leo also affirmeth: * Egegetius addeth a gard to the baggage, and * Leo a proper Ensigne, saying: To euery regiment there ought to be allotted a Waggon Master, and a proper Ensigne as well to the horse as oxen, that they may be directed to their owner: by the colours of the Ensigne. ^{b. Leo. 6. 10. § 11. c. 10. § 12. d. Leo. 6. 10. § 13. e. 14. § 15.}

3. *Either before the Army.*] The first of the fure wayes, by which the baggage is conueighed in a march, is to lead it before the Army, which manner is to be put in practise, when the enemy pursueth in the reare: For if haue means to seile vpon and rife it, then you could haue to wheele about your army to succour it. For these fure manners of conueighing the carriage, Leo agreeth with Ælian in these words: Your carriage, saith he, ought to haue a speciall Commander to order and gouerne it: and he is to lead it either before the Army, if you dismarch out of the enemies Countrey; after the Army, if you invade the enemies territory: ^{f. Leo. 6. 10. § 12. g. 13. § 14.} on the one side or other, where you feare to be charged on one or either of your flanks; within the phalange, when you haue suspicion to be charged on all parts. So Leo agreeing with Ælian.

4. *Or behinde.*] The baggage is to be alwayes disposed of so, that the enemy is like to giue on behinde. It ought to be before when the enemy cometh before. And yet it sometimes falleth out, that all the baggage is not enery drung or regiment (saith he to his Generall) to accomme their owne baggage: to follow after their regiment with their owne Ensignes, and not to mingle with Countrey, to march either by Regiment or else by Formes; and not to gather your whole Army into one place, lest they be easily harued with hunger, or the number be quickly discovered by the enemies spies, or be secured in forrage. In another place speaking of marching thorow woddy and rough wayes, he saith thus: In case you haue horse or baggage, lead your baggage behinde: your Army, and after it the horse, and after them a few light armed targatiers, to be as it were bringers vp of the march, for feare of v unexpected incursions which oftentimes chance to be made by the enemy. ^{h. Leo. 6. 9. § 6. i. 9. § 7. j. 10. § 11. k. 11. § 12. l. 12. § 13. m. 13. § 14. n. 14. § 15. o. 15. § 16. p. 16. § 17. q. 17. § 18. r. 18. § 19. s. 19. § 20. t. 20. § 21. u. 21. § 22. v. 22. § 23. w. 23. § 24. x. 24. § 25. y. 25. § 26. z. 26. § 27. aa. 27. § 28. ab. 28. § 29. ac. 29. § 30. ad. 30. § 31. ae. 31. § 32. af. 32. § 33. ag. 33. § 34. ah. 34. § 35. ai. 35. § 36. aj. 36. § 37. ak. 37. § 38. al. 38. § 39. am. 39. § 40. an. 40. § 41. ao. 41. § 42. ap. 42. § 43. aq. 43. § 44. ar. 44. § 45. as. 45. § 46. at. 46. § 47. au. 47. § 48. av. 48. § 49. aw. 49. § 50. ax. 50. § 51. ay. 51. § 52. az. 52. § 53. ba. 53. § 54. bb. 54. § 55. bc. 55. § 56. bd. 56. § 57. be. 57. § 58. bf. 58. § 59. bg. 59. § 60. bh. 60. § 61. bi. 61. § 62. bj. 62. § 63. bk. 63. § 64. bl. 64. § 65. bm. 65. § 66. bn. 66. § 67. bo. 67. § 68. bp. 68. § 69. bq. 69. § 70. br. 70. § 71. bs. 71. § 72. bt. 72. § 73. bu. 73. § 74. bv. 74. § 75. bw. 75. § 76. bx. 76. § 77. by. 77. § 78. bz. 78. § 79. ca. 79. § 80. cb. 80. § 81. cc. 81. § 82. cd. 82. § 83. ce. 83. § 84. cf. 84. § 85. cg. 85. § 86. ch. 86. § 87. ci. 87. § 88. cj. 88. § 89. ck. 89. § 90. cl. 90. § 91. cm. 91. § 92. cn. 92. § 93. co. 93. § 94. cp. 94. § 95. cq. 95. § 96. cr. 96. § 97. cs. 97. § 98. ct. 98. § 99. cu. 99. § 100. cv. 100. § 101. cw. 101. § 102. cx. 102. § 103. cy. 103. § 104. cz. 104. § 105. da. 105. § 106. db. 106. § 107. dc. 107. § 108. dd. 108. § 109. de. 109. § 110. df. 110. § 111. dg. 111. § 112. dh. 112. § 113. di. 113. § 114. dj. 114. § 115. dk. 115. § 116. dl. 116. § 117. dm. 117. § 118. dn. 118. § 119. do. 119. § 120. dp. 120. § 121. dq. 121. § 122. dr. 122. § 123. ds. 123. § 124. dt. 124. § 125. du. 125. § 126. dv. 126. § 127. dw. 127. § 128. dx. 128. § 129. dy. 129. § 130. dz. 130. § 131. ea. 131. § 132. eb. 132. § 133. ec. 133. § 134. ed. 134. § 135. ee. 135. § 136. ef. 136. § 137. eg. 137. § 138. eh. 138. § 139. ei. 139. § 140. ej. 140. § 141. ek. 141. § 142. el. 142. § 143. em. 143. § 144. en. 144. § 145. eo. 145. § 146. ep. 146. § 147. eq. 147. § 148. er. 148. § 149. es. 149. § 150. et. 150. § 151. eu. 151. § 152. ev. 152. § 153. ew. 153. § 154. ex. 154. § 155. ey. 155. § 156. ez. 156. § 157. fa. 157. § 158. fb. 158. § 159. fc. 159. § 160. fd. 160. § 161. fe. 161. § 162. ff. 162. § 163. fg. 163. § 164. fh. 164. § 165. fi. 165. § 166. fj. 166. § 167. fk. 167. § 168. fl. 168. § 169. fm. 169. § 170. fn. 170. § 171. fo. 171. § 172. fp. 172. § 173. fq. 173. § 174. fr. 174. § 175. fs. 175. § 176. ft. 176. § 177. fu. 177. § 178. fv. 178. § 179. fw. 179. § 180. fx. 180. § 181. fy. 181. § 182. fz. 182. § 183. ga. 183. § 184. gb. 184. § 185. gc. 185. § 186. gd. 186. § 187. ge. 187. § 188. gf. 188. § 189. gg. 189. § 190. gh. 190. § 191. gi. 191. § 192. gj. 192. § 193. gk. 193. § 194. gl. 194. § 195. gm. 195. § 196. gn. 196. § 197. go. 197. § 198. gp. 198. § 199. gq. 199. § 200. gr. 200. § 201. gs. 201. § 202. gt. 202. § 203. gu. 203. § 204. gv. 204. § 205. gw. 205. § 206. gx. 206. § 207. gy. 207. § 208. 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§ 271. jk. 271. § 272. jl. 272. § 273. jm. 273. § 274. jn. 274. § 275. jo. 275. § 276. jp. 276. § 277. jq. 277. § 278. jr. 278. § 279. js. 279. § 280. jt. 280. § 281. ju. 281. § 282. jv. 282. § 283. jw. 283. § 284. jx. 284. § 285. jy. 285. § 286. jz. 286. § 287. ka. 287. § 288. kb. 288. § 289. kc. 289. § 290. kd. 290. § 291. ke. 291. § 292. kf. 292. § 293. kg. 293. § 294. kh. 294. § 295. ki. 295. § 296. kj. 296. § 297. kk. 297. § 298. kl. 298. § 299. km. 299. § 300. kn. 300. § 301. ko. 301. § 302. kp. 302. § 303. kq. 303. § 304. kr. 304. § 305. ks. 305. § 306. kt. 306. § 307. ku. 307. § 308. kv. 308. § 309. kw. 309. § 310. kx. 310. § 311. ky. 311. § 312. kz. 312. § 313. la. 313. § 314. lb. 314. § 315. lc. 315. § 316. ld. 316. § 317. le. 317. § 318. lf. 318. § 319. lg. 319. § 320. lh. 320. § 321. li. 321. § 322. lj. 322. § 323. lk. 323. § 324. ll. 324. § 325. lm. 325. § 326. ln. 326. § 327. lo. 327. § 328. lp. 328. § 329. lq. 329. § 330. lr. 330. § 331. ls. 331. § 332. lt. 332. § 333. lu. 333. § 334. lv. 334. § 335. lw. 335. § 336. lx. 336. § 337. ly. 337. § 338. lz. 338. § 339. ma. 339. § 340. mb. 340. § 341. mc. 341. § 342. md. 342. § 343. me. 343. § 344. mf. 344. § 345. mg. 345. § 346. mh. 346. § 347. mi. 347. § 348. mj. 348. § 349. mk. 349. § 350. ml. 350. § 351. mn. 351. § 352. mo. 352. § 353. mp. 353. § 354. mq. 354. § 355. mr. 355. § 356. ms. 356. § 357. mt. 357. § 358. mu. 358. § 359. mv. 359. § 360. mw. 360. § 361. mx. 361. § 362. my. 362. § 363. mz. 363. § 364. na. 364. § 365. nb. 365. § 366. nc. 366. § 367. nd. 367. § 368. ne. 368. § 369. nf. 369. § 370. ng. 370. § 371. nh. 371. § 372. ni. 372. § 373. nj. 373. § 374. nk. 374. § 375. nl. 375. § 376. nm. 376. § 377. nn. 377. § 378. no. 378. § 379. np. 379. § 380. nq. 380. § 381. nr. 381. § 382. ns. 382. § 383. nt. 383. § 384. nu. 384. § 385. nv. 385. § 386. nw. 386. § 387. nx. 387. § 388. ny. 388. § 389. nz. 389. § 390. oa. 390. § 391. ob. 391. § 392. oc. 392. § 393. od. 393. § 394. oe. 394. § 395. of. 395. § 396. og. 396. § 397. oh. 397. § 398. oi. 398. § 399. oj. 399. § 400. ok. 400. § 401. ol. 401. § 402. om. 402. § 403. on. 403. § 404. oo. 404. § 405. op. 405. § 406. oq. 406. § 407. or. 407. § 408. os. 408. § 409. ot. 409. § 410. ou. 410. § 411. ov. 411. § 412. ow. 412. § 413. ox. 413. § 414. oy. 414. § 415. oz. 415. § 416. pa. 416. § 417. pb. 417. § 418. pc. 418. § 419. pd. 419. § 420. pe. 420. § 421. pf. 421. § 422. pg. 422. § 423. ph. 423. § 424. pi. 424. § 425. pj. 425. § 426. pk. 426. § 427. pl. 427. § 428. pm. 428. § 429. pn. 429. § 430. po. 430. § 431. pp. 431. § 432. pq. 432. § 433. pr. 433. § 434. ps. 434. § 435. pt. 435. § 436. pu. 436. § 437. pv. 437. § 438. pw. 438. § 439. px. 439. § 440. py. 440. § 441. pz. 441. § 442. qa. 442. § 443. qb. 443. § 444. qc. 444. § 445. qd. 445. § 446. qe. 446. § 447. qf. 447. § 448. qg. 448. § 449. qh. 449. § 450. qi. 450. § 451. qj. 451. § 452. qk. 452. § 453. ql. 453. § 454. qm. 454. § 455. qn. 455. § 456. qo. 456. § 457. qp. 457. § 458. 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vm. 583. § 584. vn. 584. § 585. vo. 585. § 586. vp. 586. § 587. vq. 587. § 588. vr. 588. § 589. vs. 589. § 590. vt. 590. § 591. vu. 591. § 592. vv. 592. § 593. vw. 593. § 594. vx. 594. § 595. vy. 595. § 596. vz. 596. § 597. wa. 597. § 598. wb. 598. § 599. wc. 599. § 600. wd. 600. § 601. we. 601. § 602. wf. 602. § 603. wg. 603. § 604. wh. 604. § 605. wi. 605. § 606. wj. 606. § 607. wk. 607. § 608. wl. 608. § 609. wm. 609. § 610. wn. 610. § 611. wo. 611. § 612. wp. 612. § 613. wq. 613. § 614. wr. 614. § 615. ws. 615. § 616. wt. 616. § 617. wu. 617. § 618. wv. 618. § 619. ww. 619. § 620. wx. 620. § 621. wy. 621. § 622. wz. 622. § 623. xa. 623. § 624. xb. 624. § 625. xc. 625. § 626. xd. 626. § 627. xe. 627. § 628. xf. 628. § 629. xg. 629. § 630. xh. 630. § 631. xi. 631. § 632. xj. 632. § 633. xk. 633. § 634. xl. 634. § 635. xm. 635. § 636. xn. 636. § 637. xo. 637. § 638. xp. 638. § 639. xq. 639. § 640. xr. 640. § 641. xs. 641. § 642. xt. 642. § 643. xu. 643. § 644. xv. 644. § 645. xu. 645. 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the river Granicus, and an infinite number of other examples are to be found in History every where.

5. *Or on the one flanke, or the other.* Aelians precept for disposing of the baggage on the flanks, is very good: For it ought as much as is possible, to be preferred from the touch of the enemy; neither can there be any better way to secure it, then your opposition, the Army betwixt it and the enemy; but so, notwithstanding that it haue a gard about it at all times, to saue it from the sudden inuasion of your enemies horse. If therefore the enemy appeare on your left flank, your baggage is to be conuieced on the right flank; If contrariwise the enemy come on to charge your right flanke, the baggage is to be removed to the left. And this holdeth, onely when the enemy appeareth vpon one flanke, and not on both. But in case the enemy appeare on both flanks at once, then is the safest place for it,

(6) *In the middelt.* There are two manners of leading of the baggage in the middelt, and that according to the nature and condition of the ground, where our army marcheth. If therefore the way be straight, Leo giueth this precept, *Those that leads their army through streights, hauing with it either baggage or prey, ought to diuide it into a diphalance, and to march wing-wise in a right induction.* A right induction, that is, which is narrow in front, and hath the depth stretched out in length: And this is to be done especially when there is a prey in the hands of the army. And if they consist of foot, the passage will be the easier through rough and cumber some places. If horse, we, are to alight and take the baggage and carriage into the middelt. But in such times and places, you are to appoint some chosen men onely for the defence of the prey, and to order them vpon the four sides of the Diphalance, as the place will giue leave, to the end to follow it and repulse those of the enemy that offer to charge or distract it. And the battaile (or diphalance) so ordered for the preservation of the carriage or prey, be maintained whole and entire. For it is not possible for those of the Diphalance both to defend the prey in good order, and to ioyne with the enemy that chargeth, which is the cause that there ought to be extraordinary men to march without the four sides of the army; but especially you are to appoint the best of them to wait vpon the reare. For so may at all times, rough and trouble some places be passed through with safety. This is Leos precept for streight & narrow passages: because in such you cannot forme your army into a hollow square, wherein the baggage is to be couched, and to be defended on all sides. For if the ground be open enough to cast your selfe into a square, hee holdeth the forme the safest to giue security to your baggage. These be his words:

Place all four carriage, seruants, and baggage, and provisions, in the middelt of your army. And in another place, speaking of a retreat to be made after an overthrow receiued, he writeth thus: *You shall order your whole power into two Phalanges or battailes, or into one square Plinthism; in the middelt wherof you shall put the carriage, beasts, and baggage, and without them the souldiers: in order, and without them the archers, and for retire and depart in safety.* Againe he saith, *In marches, the enemy approaching, it is necessary to haue your carriage in the middelt, left being vnguarded, it be spoiled and rifled.* With Leo doth Xenophon agree. His words haue this they: *I will not wonder if as fearfull dogges are wont to follow and bite such as passe by, if they can, and to flye from such as follow them, so the enemy haue vpon our retire. Therefore we shall perhaps march the safer, if making a Plestium of the armed, the carriage and innumerable multitude be throwne into the middelt for more security. And if it be not determined who shall command the front of*

the

the Plestium, and who the two wings, and who the reare, wee shall not need to consult when the enemy approacheth, but execute that which is resolved vpon. This is Xenophon counsell for the march in open ground, when the enemy aboundeth in number of souldiers: which counsell was often put in practice, and the Grecians being but 10000 secured themselves against infinite multitudes of the Persian horse that charged them on all sides, and also preferred, and led their carriage safe in despite of the enemy. The like was practised by Xenophon afterward in the last warlike action of the Grecians in their returne out of Persia. He setteth downe the history after this manner; *Now was it time, Xenophon began to thinke vpon a safe retreat, and conuincing the axes and sheep they had taken, and likewise the slaves into a Plestium, they quickly dismounted, not so much fleeing their prey, as fearing in case they left it behind, their departure might seeme a plaine running away, and the enemy gather heart, the Grecian souldiers be discouraged. So now they departed fighting as it were about the prey. The souldiers with Xenophon being sorely annoyed with bowes & stings, cast themselves into a ring to the end to oppose their targets against the shot of the enemy, and with much adoe passed the river Caius, the one halfe of them being wounded. Agasias also the Symphalian Capitaine was hurt whilst hee maintained fight with the enemy, during the whole retreat. Yet they all returned safe to the Campe bringing with them about 200 slaves, and sleepe enough for Sacrifice. Here Xenophons souldiers figured themselves first into a Plestium couching their prey in the middelt; afterward being overlaid with the enemies shot, they converted their Plestium into a Ring, in which forme they recouered their Campe, notwithstanding the molestation and often charging of a great multitude of horse and foot, that were enemy and followed them. Of the forme of Rings I finde not many examples amongst the Grecians; the Romans vsed them often, when they found themselves encompassed by the enemy, as Vegetius hath; and may be seene in Caesars Commentaries. And let thus be said of the foure manners of placing the carriage in a march.*

at Ptolemy's
T. L. 11.
C. 4. 5. de bell. 1.
Gul.
Hirsin de bell. 1.
L. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Of the words of Command, and certaine obseruations about them.

CHAP. LII.



At of all, we will briefly reape the words of direction; if we admonish first that they ought to be short, then that they ought to be without double signification. For the Souldiers, that in haste receiue direction, had neede to take heede of doubtfull words, lest one doe one thing, and another the contrary. As for the purpose; If I say *turne your face*, some, it may be, that heare me, will turne to the right, some to the left hand, and so no small confusion follow. Seeing therefore these words *Turne your face* importa generally signification, and comprehend turning to the right or left hand; we ought in stead of saying *turne your face to the pike*, to pronounce it thus, *To our pike turne your face*; that is, we ought to set the particular before, and then inferre the generall; for so will all doe alike together.

I. the

The Tactics of *Ælian*, or

Like reason is, if you say *Turne about your face, or countermarch*: for these are also generally words, and therefore we should doe well to fet the particular before. As *to the pike turne your face about, or to the target, turne your face about*: Likewise the *Lacedemonian Countermarch*, not the *countermarch Lacedemonian*: For if you place the word *countermarch* first, some of the souldiers will happily fall to one kinde, other to another kinde of countermarch. For which cause words of double sense are to be avoided, and the *speciall* to be set before the *generall*.

NOTES.

If we admonish first that they ought to be short.] The ordering and motions of an army ought to be quickly performed, the rather because the transmutations of the body and the occasions of them are sudden for the most part. And therefore the meanes to worke the transmutations commanded (these meanes are the words of direction) ought to suite to the nature of the motions themselves, and to be applied to celerity by shortnesse of speech. Short speech is better carried away, and sooner put in execution, then speech that is longer. Yet is not such a shortnesse to be affected, as will bring with it obscurity, according to the saying of the Poet: *Brevitas efflabore*—*Obscurus fio. I labour to be short, and so become obscure.* And therefore I take the practice of French Commanders, when they command Facing in these words; *A droite, a gauche*, to the right, to the left, without adding *face*, and likewise of the Netherlanders in imitation of the French *Rechts om, links om*, and of some English in these words; *To the right, to the left*, not pronouncing the motion which is to be made to the hand appointed. These I say, I take to be without the warrant of reason, and of all antiquity, from which *Ælian* draweth this rule. For the command of *right* and *left* alone sheweth that the Commander would have a motion performed to the named hand, but leaveth uncertaine what the motion should be, so that albeit some souldiers fall to a *countermarch*, some other to *wheeling*, or to *doubling*, or to *facing*, they are to be reputed blamelesse, and to have performed that which their direction willed them to doe, because the command was of moving to the *right* or *left* hand onely, not shewing what motion should be made to either hand. Shortnesse therefore is required by *Ælian*, but such a Shortnesse as is not wrapped vp in obscurity, and which may fully deliuer the minde of the Commander to the souldiers, which hee hath in exercise. And as the words ought to be short, so ought they to be,

Without double signification.] Where they have a double signification, that is, may be diuerly vnderstood by them, who are vnder direction, some of the souldiers (as *Ælian* saith) will doe one thing, some another, which must needs breed a confusion in the body exercised. For as vniformity of motion in euery particular souldier preferueth the whole body, and euery ioynt, or part; therof entire, so the dissimilitude of motion in the particulars induceth a disioyning, as it were, & a disorder of the multitude of the whole battaile in generall. To auoid then the inconuenience of double vnderstanding in words: *Ælian* thinketh fit, that the *speciall* word should be placed before the *generall*, and in stead of *Face to the pike*, he would haue the Commander

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mander to pronounce thus: *To the pike face* (that is to the right hand:) holding the word *right hand* to be more speciall or breighter in signification, then the word *face*. Let me haue pardon if I differ from *Ælian* herein. For hee vnder them most particulars. Now considering there are four motions of the battaile, which cannot be put in vse but by words of direction, and in the direction the word *right* or *left hand* is of necessity to be applied to euery of them (as for example *Countermarch* to the *right* or *left hand*, *Face right hand*, or *left hand*, and so of the rest:) it is euident, that the word it stretcheth to them all. So that albeit we retain the rule of *Ælian*, namely, to set the speciall before the generall, yet may we very safely from his example, and not onely in *facing*, but also in the three other motions pronounce the direction thus: *Face to the right or left hand*, *Double to the right or left hand*, *Countermarch to the right or left hand*, *Wheele to the right or left hand*: because the word *right* or *left hand* is more generall, then any one of the motions. But admit it were more particular, yet the necessity of our language would force vs to forsake this rule of *Ælian*. For in euery language there is an idiom or propriety of speech, and that not onely in the phrase it self, but also in the very ioyning & tying together of the words of the sentence. So that that which forteth well with one language, will not be received in another. In Greeke, in which tongue *Ælian* wrote, it soundeth well to place the nowne governed by a verbe, before the verbe it self. So in *Latine*, *Dutch*, *French*, and other tongues. In English if a man should doe like (vnlesse it were in verse, wherein the number of the feet is more respected then the ordering of the words) he should be accounted ridiculous or vaine. For take the example here set downe, to the *right hand*, to the *right hand double*, or *countermarch*, or *wheele*, and let vs vie the same order of words in common speech, and a man say to his seruant: *To the Church goe, to the mill come carry, bootes cleane make.* To the cutler my rapier carry: vho would not laugh at his speech, or thinke him idle in so pronouncing. Wherefore albeit *Ælian* hold that forme agreeable to the Greeke tongue, yet I cannot see how it will be fit that our English, according to which I hold it better to pronounce after this manner: *Face to right hand*, *Countermarch to the right hand*, and so in the rest, then after this, *To the right hand face*, to the *right hand countermarch*; the rather because the property of speech aualeth much to the capacity of souldiers, who for the most part are vnlearned, and will hardly vnderstand, in case the wonted custome, and ordinary vse of ioyning words be inuerted.

CHAP. LIII.

BVt about all things silence is to be commanded, and heed giuen to directions, as *Homer* especially signifieth in his description of the *Cræcian* and *Troian* fights, saying:

The Tactics of Ælian, or

The skilfull Captaines prest on, guiding with carefull eye
 Their armed troopes, who followed their leader, silently;
 You surely would have deem'd each one of all that mighty throng
 Had beene herest of speech, so bridled be his headfull tongue,
 Fearing the dread Commanders checke and dreadfull becks among.
 Thus march'd the Greeks in silence, breasting flames of high desire
 And fervent Zeale to backe their friends, on foes to wreake their ire.

As for the disorder of the Barbarians he resemblance it to Birds, saying:

As fowles of fowle, Geese, Cranes, and Swans with necks far stretched out,
 Which in the stmy fens Caisters winding freemes about.
 Sheere here and there the liquid skie, sporting on wanton wing,
 Then fall to groun i with clanging noise, the fens all over ring.
 None otherwise the Troians fill the field with heaped sounds
 Of broken and confused cries, each where tumult abounds.

And againe:

The Captaines marshall out their troopes ranged in goodly guise,
 And forth the Troians pace like birds, that lade the ayre with cries.
 Not so the Greeks, whose silence breasted flames of high desire,
 Fervent in zeale to backe their friends, on foes to wreake their ire.

NOTES.

Silence when a battaile is put in order either for fight, or exercise, is one of the principall points of obedience, which belongeth to a souldier, the breach whereof more endangereth the proceeding of warre, then a rawe souldier would thinke, who onely is wont to offend in that kind. I have before entreated of signes, and shewed, that in the obseruing of directions consisteth the greatest helpe of victory; in neglecting them, the chiefest meanes to take an ouerthrow, and be defeated. For as directions being executed giue life vnto warlike actions to effect that which the Commander desireth, so whatsoever hindereth the receiuing of directions, must needs crosse the designses of the Commander, and by consequence frustrate and disanull that which was thought by him most fit to be put in practice either for the good order, or for the preservation of the Army, or else for the gaying of victory: A man that is not attentiu cannot marke the command deliuered: Nor can he be attentiu, that whilst it is deliuered busieth his head with other thoughts, or else entertaineth his next standers by with talke, a meanes to diuert aswell the speaker as the hearer from that heed which ought to be giuen to direction; inasmuch as no man hath the ability to heare another mans speech, and himselfe take at the same instant, or at the same time to discerne two mens severall speeches, which are deliuered together. All generals haue held *Silence* a principall point of warlike discipline. And therefore in Commands they make it the first. *Leas* precept is this: When the troopes are drawne together, and ordered for exercise, let the cryer (for euery company had then a cryer) giue these directions: Doe what you are commanded with silence; keepe your places euery man, follow your colours. And in another

Leas 7.5.41.

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ther place he writeth thus: When your Army goeth out to ioyne with the enemy, there ought to be a deepe silence. For that both preserueth the Army from disorder, and also maketh the directions of the Commanders to be heard with more attention. And againe thus: There ought to be as much silence as may be in the Army, and if the bringers up of any file, heare but a whispering of their fellowes in the file, they are to pricketh the parties with the points of their pikes, and so to redresse the fault. Alexander when he was returning from the Countrey of the Taulantians, into which he had made an inrode, found his way beset with enemies, and being to cast his Army into a forme of battaile to fight, he first commanded an absolute silence, and then proceeded to other directions. And for the effect of silence, our owne story hath a memorable example of the Army of Edward the fourth in Barnet field.

As for the silence here prescribed by Ælian, it extendeth not onely to exercise and fight, but oftentimes to the marching of an Army, and to the Campe, as appeareth by the last example, and by *Leas* precept in his eleuenth Chapter. And yet this precept of silence is not inuolubly to be kept in an Army at all times: for there is a time, when the Souldiers ought to giue a general shout, and cry thorow the whole Army, to the end to terrifie the aduersé battaile of the enemy; and that time hath alwayes beene chosen, and by all Nations obserued, when the fight is presently to be vndergone. I neede not bring instances thereof, euery man knoweth it, that is although but meanely acquainted with History. It is termed in Greeke *Encephala*, in Latine *clamor*. In English a shout of the whole Army; the which being performed, silence is to be restored in as strict manner as before. And thus much of silence. Now followeth the words of direction in Ælians last Chapter.

of the words of direction.

CHAP. LIIII.

Thus then are we to command.

- 1 To your armes.
- 2 Carriage away from the battaile.
- 3 Be silent and marke your directions.
- 4 Take vp your armes.
- 5 Separate your felues.
- 6 Advance your Pikes.
- 7 File your felues.
- 8 Ranke your felues.
- 9 Look to your leaders.
- 10 Reare-Commander strengthen your file.
- 11 Keepe your first distancies.
- 12 Face to the pike.

Moue a little further.
Stand fo.

- 13 As you were.
- 14 Face to the Tar.

MOUS

The Tacticks of *Ælian*, or

Moue a little further.
Stand fo.

- 25 As you were.
- 26 Face about to the pike.
- 27 As you were.
- 18 Double your depth.
- 19 To your first posture.
- 20 The Lacedemonian Countermarch.
- 21 To your first posture.
- 22 The Macedonian Countermarch.
- 23 To your first posture.
- 24 The Chorean Countermarch.
- 25 To your first posture.

The precepts of the art Tacticks haue I deliuered vnto you (most inuincible *Cæsar*) which I make no doubt, will bring to the practice safety, and victory over his enemies.

NOTES.

THese words of direction here set downe, are rather to shew the manner of Command, then to expresse the iust number of directions vsed in exercise: yet doth *Leo* the Emperour transcribe some of them, albeit not all, out of *Ælian*; and the lair in *Leo* hath a mixture of two motions in one direction, being deliuered in these words, *ὁ δὲ λαός ἐστὶν ὡς ἐν κύκλῳ*, which is in Latine translated by Sir John Cheke *Laconicum ad hastam trahere*; and may be thus englished, wheele thrice the Lacedemonian Countermarch to the right hand; wherein there is both *wheeling* and the *Lacedemonian Countermarch* commanded at once, a thing impossible to be performed. For as in *wheeling*, the whole battaile remaineth entire, and moueth circlewise about the right or left corner-fileleader, as about a Center; So in a Countermarch Lacedemonian it is broken, and beginneth to moue by severall ranks, and continueth the motion in a direct line from the front to the reare, and not in a circle. But for the precepts of *Ælian* I purpose to explaine onely such as are vsed by the Souldiers and Commanders of our time: And after taking of armes I hold this to be the first, at left when we begin to moue.

6 Advance your Pikes.

Pikes in ordering of a battaile must be first advanced before any motion can be performed, in as much as all other postures of the Pike doe hinder, or else are vnfit for transmutations and variety of changes, and from advancing the rest of pike-postures doe spring. Ordering of the Pike was devised to ease the Souldier standing still; *shouldering*, to ease him in marching; advancing, to giue facility to the other postures, and to finish them, because they both begin and end in it.

7 & 8. File and ranke your files.

It is needlesse to note, that no battaile can be without filing and ranking.

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This we must vnderstand, that the Capitaine is to see whether the Souldiers be filed and ranked; but the action it selfe pertaineth to the Souldiers, who knowing their files and ranks, are every man to take their place accordingly: for so ought it to be in true discipline of Warre.

9 Look to your Leader.

The file-leader is the life, and giuer of forme vnto the file. He is the life in that he moueth first, and draweth the rest vnto the same motion; he giueth the forme vnto it, because it being nothing else but a right line, his standing, being the first point, directeth the rest to follow lineally one after another. In this precept therefore *Look to your Leader* two things are commanded, one that the rest of the file should obserue to moue and stand still, as he doth; the other, that they should maintaine a straightnesse and rightnesse in length, which is the forme of the file.

10 Reare-commander order your file.

See *Ælian* cap. 12.

In the Greeke Edition of *Ælian* is read *ἀρχηγός*, that is, file-leader. But in a Manuscript, which I haue seene, is *ῥεαργός*, the bringer vp or reare-commander, and so is it read in *Leo*s Tacticks; and I take it to be the true reading, this command rather appertaining to the reare-Commander, then to the file-leader: for the file-leader being the foremost of the file, and bearing his face out of the front, how can he see whether the file that is behinde him, be in right order or not. The bringer-vp hath his face toward the whole file, as it standeth our before him: and therefore may easily discern if any man be in disorder, and reforme them that are the cause of the disorder. In which respect it is euident, that he is fitter for the command, then the file-leader; which is the cause, that I haue translated the word of direction, as before, *Reare-commander order your file*.

See *Leo* cap. 5. 22.

11 Keep your first distances. That is, stand in your open order. For in that distance is the exercise first legunne.

It is a seemly thing to see an euen proportion obserued in the motion of a battaile, and to behold a direct pace betwixt files and ranks. For that is the grace and beauty (as I may terme it) of a Phalange ordered for fight. This proportion cannot be maintayned without obseruing distance curiously. Open order is fixe foot both in ranke and file betwixt man and man every way. If then any iouldier in file gather vp to his leader, and stand at distance of three foot, it is manifest, that his ranke is thereby disturbed and made vneuen, although the file continue straight. Contrariwise, if he beart himselfe out of his place, three foot toward either of his side-men, by this means he disordereth his file and maketh it crooked. This fault if it were committed by many, a generall disorder would follow in the body; and therefore *Ælian* well aduiseeth to keepe the first distances especially till you be commanded to the second or third distance, which will often fall out in the foure motions. Of which Facing is the first; and the words of direction in it are these as before in *Ælian*.

See *Ælian* cap. 12.

22 Face

13 Face to the Pike.

See Ælian before
cap. 15.

That is, Face to the tight hand; For the pike was always borne in the right hand.

14 Face to the Target.

The Pike-men in the Macedonian army bore targets on their left arms, or on the left side, so that facing to the target is all one with the word of command; Face to the left hand.

16 Face about to the pike or target.

That is, face about to the right or left hand. But where hee addeth [*more a little further*] he signifieth that the direction is not fully accomplished, and he would haue the souldiers continue their motion till their faces were fully come about to the reare; and then hee willett them go stand so, because they haue gayned their place. These facings here expressed by *Ælian*, are of the whole body. Other facings of the parts he hath not set downe, which notwithstanding are oftentimes of great vse. For say the enemy charge in front and reare; your front must continue as it did, but the word for the reare is:

a Halfe files face about to the right or left hand.

If the enemy charge you on both flanks, then is the word of command.

b Halfe ranks face to the right, halft to the left hand.

If in front and one flanke, the front standeth firme, and the word for the flanke that is charged, is:

Halfe ranks of the right (or left) flanke, Face to the hand named.

If in front and both flanks, the front is to stand firme, and both the flanks to face to the enemy. And this is done in a hollow square or Plesium, and the word is:

Flanks face one to the right the other to the left hand.

If on all sides or round about, it is as before for the flanks: but for the reare,

The reare face about to the right or left hand.

Now in Countermarch of the reare, the ranke of file-leaders is oftentimes commanded to face about to the right or left hand; In countermarch of the front, the ranke of bringers vp must doe the like, as wee shall see in Countermarch. Doubling is the second motion vsed in battaile, the precept of it in this in *Ælian*.

Doubling,
a Motion.

18 Double

18 Double your depth.

The word in our exercise for this motion is, Double your files; because files measure the depth of the battaile, or ranks measure the length. This doubling is made many wayes. The first is, when the euen files (that is, the 2. 4. 6. 8. 10. file) fall into the odde; As if the doubling be to the right hand, the right hand corner-file standeth firme, and is the first after doubling; the third is the second file, the fifth the third, and so the rest of the odde files in order. But the manner is, that the leaders of the second file fall directly behind the leader of the first file, and the second man of the second file behind the second man of the first, and so the rest of those two files. The same order is for the rest of the euen files, when they double the odde files. And the word is:

See, Ælian cap.

Double your files to the right or left hand.

Another manner is, when halfe the body of files conueyes it selfe into the spaces of the other halfe of the body; be it to the right or left hand according to direction given; so that the first ranke of the halfe body, which is to moue, falls into the space next after the first ranke of the halfe body that standeth, and so the rest of the ranks of the halfe body that moueth, and the word is:

Halfe the body double your files to the right or left hand.

Another is, when files are doubled by a countermarch: As if the second file of the right or left hand (as it is appointed) countermarch, and the leader of that file place himselfe behind the bringer vp of the corner file to that hand, to which the doubling is to be made; and so the rest of the files of euen number, behind those of odde number; and so the second behind the first, the fourth behind the third, the sixth behind the fifth, and so the rest. The word is:

Double your files by countermarch to the right or left hand.

The next word in *Ælian* is

Double your length.

That is, double your ranks, or front: (For as I before noted, the ranks make the length of the battaile) which likewise is many wayes done. The first is, when the ranks of euen appellation, as the 2. 4. 6. 8. &c. fall out into the spaces of the odde, namely, into the spaces of the 1. 3. 5. 7. &c. which stand before them and place themselves euen with them in ranke. The word is:

Double your ranks to the right or left hand.

Another way is, when the bringers-vp (their halfe files following them.

I 3

by.

The Tactics of Ælian, or

by countermarch) aduance vp to the front, and place themſelues in the ſpaces betwixt the file-leaders to the hand appointed, and the reſt of the ranks accordingly, namely, the ninth ranke in the ſpaces of the ſecond, the eight in the ſpaces of the third, the ſeuenth in the fourth, the ſixth in the ſpaces of the fifth. And the word is :

Bringers vp, double your front by countermarch to the right or left hand.

Another is, when the reare-halfe-files, one halfe face to the right, the other to the left hand, and diuiding themſelues, march out till they bee paſſe the flanks of the ſtanding halfe-files : Then facing to the front, ſleeue vp and front with the ſtanding halfe-files. Then the word is :

Reare halfe-files, double your front by diuiſion to the right and left hand.

Another way is, when the reare-halfe-files vndiuided, face to the hand appointed, and being beyond the flanke of the reſt of the body, face to the front and ſleeue vp, and ioine in front with the ſtanding halfe-files. The word is :

Reare halfe-files, enter double your front to the right or left hand.

It is to be obſerued, that in all theſe motions of doubling ranks or front, the ſouldiers are to returne after their motion to their firſt poſture, which is done by facing about to the right or left hand, and then by mouing, and by recouering their firſt place. The word is :

As you were.

3 Motion.

Countermarch is the third motion vſed in the change of a battaile. The vſe and neceſſity thereof appeareth in Ælian beſore, and that there are two kinds, one by file, the other by ranke. The words of command that hee here ſetteth downe, are onely of countermarch by file, which may be reduced to two kinds, viz. the Countermarch of the front, and the Countermarch of the reare. That of the front hath like wiſe two kinds, the Lacedemonian and the Chorean : That of the reare onely one, and it is called the Macedonian Countermarch. Now Ælian's direction followeth.

20 The Lacedemonian Countermarch.

This is one of the Countermarches by file, and of the front. The manner is, that the file-leaders beginne the Countermarch and paſſe beyond the reare, their files following them. In our exerciſe the word is :

Countermarch the front to the right, or to the left hand.

It is done after another fort alſo, as when the bringers vp face about to the right or left hand, and then the whole body facing about to the ſame hand, paſſe thorow the ſpaces of the bringers vp to the ſame hand and the ninth ranke, beginning the reſt of the ranks after one another, place themſelues e- uery particular man before his follower in the ſame file, till the file-leaders are firſt. The word is :

Bringers

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Bringers vp face to the right, or to the left hand. The reſt beginning at the ninth ranke, paſſe thorow to the ſame hand, and place euery man himſelfe before his follower.

As you were.

In Ælian followeth :

22 The Macedonian Countermarch.

We in our exerciſe tearme this Countermarch of the reare, and it is done in two manners : Firſt, when the bringers vp begin the Countermarch, and their files following, paſſe thorow the ſpaces of the file-leaders, till the file-leaders become the laſt of the file, and then the whole body face about, and ſtand. The word is :

Countermarch the reare to the right or left hand. Face about to the contrary hand, and ſtand.

The other when the file-leaders face about to either hand, and the reſt of the ranks beginning at the ſecond ranke, ſucceſſively paſſe thorow the ſpaces of the file-leaders to the hand appointed, placing themſelues euery man behind his next leader, and facing about as they did. The word is :

File leaders face about, the reſt of the ranks paſſe thorow, and place your ſelves behind your next leaders.

The next in Ælian is :

24 The Chorean Countermarch.

This Countermarch is of the front, as I ſaid, but it keepeth the ground, that the body had before the file-leaders (their files following them) remoued to the places of the bringers vp, and the bringers vp to the places that the file-leaders had. The word is :

File-leaders, countermarch to the right or left hand, and ſtand, viz. when they come to the bringers vp.

Other Countermarches there are, which are not here ſet downe by Ælian, but are remembered in his Chapter of Countermarches ; of which the countermarch by ranks of the whole battaile is one, of which the termarch by ranks in the parts. And as in the Countermarch of the front the ranks firſt began to moue, ſo in Countermarch of the flanke, the files were beginne to moue ; and as in the Countermarch of the flanke, the ranks followed one another by file, ſo in Countermarch of the front the files follow one another by ranke : that is, the ſouldiers of euery ranke follow one another. If you would countermarch the right flanke, ſo to change one ſide of the battaile for the other, the word is :

Countermarch the right flanke to the left hand.

Ælian cap. 23.

The Tactics of Ælian, or

In countermarching the left flanke, the word is ;

Countermarch the left flanke to the right hand.

To countermarch the wings into the middest, both the vttermost corner-files are to moue toward the middest, their halfe rankes following them, and meeting in the middest to stand there, and face to the front ; and the word is ;

Countermarch your wings into the middest of the battaile.

Obserue, that in Countermarch by ranke, the three Countermarches *Macedonian*, *Lacedemonian*, and *Choraan* may be practised, as well as in Countermarch by file. If the flanke nereest to the enemy begin the Countermarch, this the Macedonian countermarch, because it maketh a shew of shifting away. If the flanke furthest from the enemy begin, it is the Lacedemonian, in that it carrieth a semblance of falling on. But when one flanke countermarcheth, till it come iust vp to the other, and no further ; it is the Choraan, because it keepeth the same ground.

The fourth Motion.

Wheeling is the fourth and last motion ; and it is vsed in the whole entire battaile, or in the parts thereof. *Ælian* giueth words of direction for the whole battaile onely, and they are these ;

Wheele the body to the Pike, or to the Target.

When the battaile is to wheele to the pike or right hand, the right hand corner file-leader is onely to turne his body by little and little to the right hand, facing euen with the ranke of file-leaders, till such time as hee haue gained the right hand aspect ; and the rest are to moue about him, making him the center, as it were, of their circled motion. If to the left hand, the left hand corner file-leader is to doe the like. The same order is of wheeling the battaile about to the right or left hand. *Ælian* (as I said) giueth here no other words of command, then for the wheeling of the whole body, yet are the wheelings of the parts of great vse ; for either the flankes are wheeled into the front, or the front into the flankes. The front is wheeled into the flankes, when we desire to forme the Antistomus Phalange to resist the enemy, giuing on both flankes. And then the two middlemost bringers vp are to stand, and the middle file-leaders to diuide themselves, and to moue halfe the battaile to the right, halfe to the left hand, making those two bringers vp the center of the motion. In this the word is :

Wheele the front into flankes by diuision.

If the flankes be to be wheeled into the front, the two middle file-leaders are to stand still, and the two halfe bodies to moue about them, one to the right hand, the other to the left, till the two flankes be in the front, and the front in the middest. This kind is practised when we would frame the Di-phalange Antistomus. The word is :

Wheele

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

Wheele the flankes into the front.

It is to be remembred, that after euery motion a restitution to the first posture is to be commanded in these words ; *As you were.*

In facing you are to returne to the contrary hand, as if the command were to face to the right, in returning you come to the left.

In doubling you must doe the like.

In countermarch likewise, whether you countermarch the whole body, or the parcels thereof, you are to returne by the contrary hand.

After wheeling, there ought to be a facing to the same hand first before you returne, and then a returning the contrary way about the same corner file-leader, about whom the motion was first made. This is to be vnderstood of wheeling the whole body.

In wheeling the front into the flankes, after wheeling performed, the body before returning is to face to the Commander, then to returne about the same bringers vp, till all come to be as they were.

In wheeling the flankes into the front, after the wheeling is made, the body is to face likewise to the Commander, then facing about to the right or left hand to return to the first posture about the two middle file-leaders, as about their center.

Mic castus artemque repono.

FFXFS.



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